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ABSTRACT

This document consists of the two annual volumes of a regional TESOL journal published during 1998 and 1999. The two volumes contain the following articles: "Strengthening the Bridge: A High School-University Partnership" (Robin Murie); "'Ch'emyon' in the EFL Classroom" (James H. Robinson); "The Changing Artwork of the Hmong" (Alice Weickelt); "Creating University Communities" (Mike Mutschelknaus); "Direct Grammar Instruction in the Communication-Based Classroom" (Sheila E. Hansen); "Expanding our Vision of English Language Learner Education in Minnesota: Implications of State Population Projections" (Elaine Tarone); "Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of the Advantages and Disadvantages of Teaching ESL Students" (George A. Youngs, Jr., Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs); "Recruiting Minority Teachers from within Local School Districts: The Lakeland College Urban Teachers Outreach Program" (Perry R. Rettig); "The Importance of Context in the Academic Achievement of English Language Learners" (Marina Hammond); and "Form, Function, and Meaning: Understanding/Teaching English Participles" (Carl Zhonggang Gao). Reviews of reference books, publications about teaching, and instructional materials are included in each volume, as are samples of student writing. (MSE)

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Minne
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Journal

Volume 15, 1998

A Journal for Minnesota and Wisconsin Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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- **Manuscripts**
  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief abstract.

  Submit three paper copies of the manuscript and abstract. Upon acceptance of your article for inclusion in the *Journal*, you will be asked to send us a computer diskette of your article.

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INTRODUCTION

Welcome to volume 3 of the *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal* as well as volume 15 of the *MinneTESOL Journal,* where we continue the tradition of publishing articles of interest to ESL professionals in Minnesota and Wisconsin. This collaboration continues to strengthen our ability to provide both affiliate memberships opportunities for professional growth and development. As always, we welcome your contributions of articles, book reviews, student work, and discussions of on-going issues in the field. Your contributions make the journal.

The current volume begins with Robin Murie's article describing a post-secondary partnership between the University of Minnesota General College and Edison High School in Minneapolis. This program allows high-potential LEP students to take two years of post-secondary coursework through the Commanding English Program of the General College while still attending high school, building academic literacy and exposing them to University culture while earning college credits. After seven years in operation, the program has succeeded in encouraging a large number of graduates to continue on to college.

The next three articles offer three different perspectives to the necessity of cultural knowledge on the part of the teacher as well as the student. James Robinson describes the concept of *Ch'emyon* in Korean culture, contrasting it with the concept of "face" in the United States. The article demonstrates the advantages of understanding this concept for ESL/EFL teachers who work with Korean students On a broader level, the article implies that in order to better understand and teach our students, we as teachers have the continuous task of gaining understanding and knowledge of some of the cultural concepts of the many ethnic groups who join our classrooms.

The third article, by Alice Weickelt, continues the theme of cultural knowledge by describing the intricate artwork of the Hmong. She provides us with a fascinating history of this artwork from the times when the Hmong lived in their native land to the present, when their artwork has become part of an economic industry in the United States. This article provides us with more cultural knowledge to better understand our students of Hmong background.

In the fourth article Mike Mutschelknaus stresses the cultural-knowledge needs of the students themselves. He describes several approaches he uses with ESL students at Saint Mary's University to facilitate the development of cross-cultural competencies.

The final article in this volume includes an extensive literature review exploring the topic of how direct grammar instruction can fit into a communication-based classroom. Sheila Hansen presents a model for direct grammar instruction which acts as a support mechanism for the communication-based curriculm, including specific techniques which educators have found effective.

We have two book reviews in this volume. Continuing our cultural theme, the first is *The American Ways: An Introduction to American Culture,* 1997, by Datesman, Crandall and Kearny. The text can be used to teach about the culture and institutions of the United States, one of its purposes being to encourage cultural sensitivity and acceptance of cultural differences. The second book review is of *New Ways in Content-Based Instruction*, 1997, edited by Brinton and Master. This book includes three approaches to content-based instruction, all of which strive to integrate language curriculum with the academic or career interest of the students. It includes many activities that can be used to promote communicative competence within a content course.

Finally, we have included student poetry from the class of JoDiane Ward at Edison High School in Minneapolis as a reminder of what our profession is all about.

Before we conclude, we, the editors, wish to apologize to Sally Brown-Haase, the MinneTESOL Membership Secretary, and Shirley Krogmeier, the MinneTESOL Recording Secretary, for inadvertently omitting them from the Executive Board list in the 1997, volume 14, *MinneTESOL/ WITESOL Journal*. They do excellent work and should be recognized for it.

With this volume Thom Upton of the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire and Suellen Rundquist of St. Cloud State University continue as co-editors. We both hope that you find this volume interesting and enjoyable. We encourage your contributions to the next volume and look forward to the continuation of our Minnesota-Wisconsin joint venture.

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MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal, Vol. 15, 1998

Strengthening the Bridge: A High School - University Partnership

Robin Murie
University of Minnesota Commanding English Program at Edison High School

This article describes a post-secondary partnership between the University of Minnesota General College and Edison High School in Minneapolis. Now in its 7th year, this model program helps high-potential, first-generation LEP (Limited English Proficient) students strengthen the bridge to higher education in several crucial ways. Students take two years of post-secondary coursework through the U of M Commanding English program while still in high school. This helps students build academic literacy, confidence and exposure to the culture of college classrooms while also earning college credit as a high school student. Graduates of the program go on to college at a high rate, often with significant scholarship support. This article gives an overview of the program: the rationale for such a partnership, a description of the program, and our evaluation of its success thus far.

BACKGROUND: THE BARRIERS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

It is not uncommon for any student to face anxieties in the transition between high school and college and to feel the increase in academic workload and expectations at the college level. For those who are first-generation, second-language minority students, this gap can become overwhelming. In addition to the usual concerns of financial aid, registration, housing, and finding friends on campus, language-minority students may also face additional challenges:

- lower reading levels in English;
- the need for more time to read and write in their second language;
- a lack of shared understanding of course content, especially in courses such as American history, literature, sociology, etc., where the professor assumes a certain familiarity with U.S. issues and culture;
- education backgrounds that did not prepare students for the kinds of study needed in U.S. colleges. Reasons may be because

of years spent in refugee camps, or because family members were not able to guide students toward the college tracks in high school (Bliatout et. al., 1988), or because of teaching styles in the native country which are quite different from how American students are expected to read and learn material;

- less comfort and ability writing in a second language, and along with this, the necessity to deal with the responses professors may have to writing that has non-standard linguistic features;
- the sense of not belonging on campus.

All of these challenges can make the adjustment to post-secondary education difficult.

There are, of course, many strengths in the balance as well: second-language students who have moved to the United States, perhaps even specifically for the educational opportunities here, are often more mature with a deeper sense of purpose and belief in the powers of higher education. There is a willingness to work long and hard and to face challenges. Students may know two, three, or four languages fluently and bring first-hand knowledge of different cultures and perspectives from around the world.

The goal of the Commanding English - Edison High School partnership is to strengthen the bridge between high school and college for high-potential second-language students by building college-level academic reading, writing and oral communication skills through a carefully designed sequence of freshman courses in the General College at the University of Minnesota.

WHAT IS COMMANDING ENGLISH?

The Commanding English (CE) Program at the University of Minnesota General College consists of a three-quarter sequence of freshman reading, writing, and academic content courses offered to non-native speakers of English who have been admitted into the General College, one of ten admitting colleges at the University of Minnesota. Typically the students are permanent residents who have been in the United States long enough to be able to apply to college, but who may lack some of the language proficiency needed for successful academic work at the university level. (Students take the MELAB test and are placed into the CE program if their scores are between 65 and 77.) The Commanding English program is designed to build language and academic proficiency through rigorous content-based language instruction.

EDISON HIGH SCHOOL COMMANDING ENGLISH PROGRAM

In the Fall of 1991, the Commanding English Program began an outreach partnership at Edison High School in Minneapolis. Minnesota is fortunate to have state funding, through the Post-Secondary Enrollment Options Act, which pays for qualified high school juniors and seniors to take college courses if their high school does not offer equivalent coursework. It was felt that allowing high school ESL students to study in a content-based ESL program at the University of Minnesota was within the guidelines for the state funding, since CE courses are credit bearing and part of a freshman curriculum. In this program, every fall quarter twenty to twenty-four selected high school juniors for whom English is a second language are enrolled in the General College Commanding English sequence, which they take over a two-year period.

Edison High School was chosen because of its relatively large population of Hmong students, a group which is under-represented at the University. In the past two years, only two percent of the Commanding English students in General College have been of Hmong descent, in spite of this being the largest Southeast Asian group in the Twin Cities. In the Edison Commanding English group, sixty to eighty percent are Hmong. At Edison High School, according to statistics from October 1997, over thirty percent of the student body is classified as being Limited English Proficient. In the current two Commanding English groups, there is an increasing diversity, with students from Bosnia, China, Ethiopia, Laos, Poland, Romania, Russia, Somalia, the Philippines, and Vietnam; however, Hmong students still comprise the majority, making up eighty-three percent of the two groups.

The purpose of the program is three-fold: 1) to accelerate the preparation for college study by offering students an academically-oriented language program; 2) to reduce the need ESL students might have for extensive remedial work at the college level, coursework which is often not credit bearing or which is difficult to cover with financial aid; and 3) to encourage more students to consider higher education. An additional advantage is that at the end of the two years, students graduate from high school with twenty-seven college credits, at no cost to their families.

By offering the sequence of courses over a two-year time span (six quarters), students are getting the crucial extended language development over time. While it may only take one or two years to develop oral proficiency in a second language, research shows that it can take five to seven years to acquire the kind of academic proficiency needed for college work (Collier, 1987). The CE program recognizes this time factor and is designed to help students build academic literacy as they study content courses at the college level. For many students, time is a real issue, since resettlement often creates disruption and gaps in a refugee's education. For example, in the 1991-92 cohort of Edison Commanding English students, sixty-three percent had never attended school in their native country, although the average age of arrival in the United States was fourteen (with a range of four to twenty-one years); seventy-nine percent had received some education in Thailand (usually in a refugee camp), and the average number of years students had attended school in the U.S. was five. In the 1992-93 group, only half of the students reported having had an uninterrupted education. The most current figures (1997) also show half of the students reporting some interruption in their education (one to five years). The Hmong students who essentially have grown up in refugee camps in Thailand have had greater access to schools in the camps, although rarely past sixth grade. Consequently, there are students who may be struggling both with the reading/writing skills and the content or background knowledge needed for academic work. Commanding English is designed to address both of these needs.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Set-up

Every spring, the ESL and mainstream English teachers recommend students for the program. This is followed by a series of informational meetings, including an evening meeting for parents, so that the families also know what this program is and how much time it may require of those who opt to enroll. Students take a one-hour test of general reading and writing ability, and based on a holistic scoring of the test, are either recommended for the program or offered the opportunity to re-test the following year. In some instances a recent arrival may be given the chance to re-test in the fall for admission. The high school ESL teachers and the program coordinator discuss who should or should not be in the program and letters are sent out, telling students that they have, or have not, been accepted into the program and that registration will begin in September. The timing of the letter allows students to register that spring for the appropriately reduced load of high school courses. Because the University and the public school calendars are inevitably different, the CE classes do not begin until the third week of the fall high school term.

Coursework

Once admitted to the program, students take a total of three General College reading courses, two writing courses, a speech course, and one college lecture course (biology, general arts, sociology, or cultural anthropology). A typical sequence under a quarter or trimester system is as follows:

Junior Year (courses taught at Edison High School)

GC 1364 (4 cr.) *Literature of the American Immigrant Experience* (Fall)
A four-credit literature course that stresses fluency; students read twenty-five to thirty pages per night, do extensive journal writing, as well as write take-home essays at the conclusion of each of the three novels. A course project (final paper, video, dramatization of a scene from a novel, or write-up of oral interviews), three novels and a substantial course packet of other readings comprise the bulk of the course work.

GC 1051 (5 cr.) *Introduction to College Reading and Writing* (Winter)
This course introduces students to the process of drafting, revising and editing, with some individualized work on identifying grammar "troublespots" in their own writing. Students work on four multi-draft papers, moving from a biography piece to more formal academic argumentation, as well as numerous short writings.

GC 1041 (3 cr.) *Developing College Reading* (Spring)
In the University CE program, this course is linked to sociology or biology. At Edison, this course is taught separately from the academic content course, but centers around an academic field of investigation, often sociology. Students work on academic vocabulary, reading strategies and group work, using sociology textbooks from college courses.

Senior Year (courses taught on the University of Minnesota campus)

GC 1421 (4 cr.) *Writing Laboratory I: Basic Writing* (Fall)
This is the first half of the General College freshman writing requirement. Taught in networked computer labs, students have access to their e-mail accounts (offered to all post-secondary options students at the U of M), research on the world wide web, and *Daedelus* software for computer-led discussions. The theme of the course is education, with students reading and researching issues in their own literacy development.

GC 1042 (3 cr.) *Reading in Content Areas* (Winter)
GC 1311 (4 cr.) *General Arts* (Winter)
These two courses are paired together. The lecture course, of-

fered by regular faculty in the University of Minnesota General College, is paired with an adjunct reading course which assists with the textbook readings, vocabulary, and academic reading skills. The General Arts course is a regular General College humanities course and the high school students are mixed in with other students on campus. The reading course uses the General Arts text as a focus for working on vocabulary, reading strategies, and small-group work with the content of the course.

GC 1461 (4 cr.) *Oral Communication: Speaking & Creative Thinking* (Spring) This is a fairly standard college speech course, which also fills the students' speech requirement at the high school level. Since this course meets only two days a week, it is offered in the spring of the senior year, when students are often very busy with graduation activities. Students discuss aspects of small- and large-group communication and present three to four prepared speeches which are video-taped for critiques.

The program offers college-level courses with considerable support built in: where possible, peer tutors from the college Writing Center are brought in to the writing courses to help facilitate group revision conferences and individualized editing work. Finally, class size is kept at twenty-three students or fewer, allowing for individualized instruction. The program is rigorous but builds support for students to ensure success.

During the junior year, courses are typically offered at the high school. For the senior year, students come to the U of M campus for late afternoon courses. This allows easy access to University facilities: libraries, networked computers, research on the world wide web, video equipment in the speech class, and access to the Weisman Art Museum for research in the General Arts course. More importantly, it allows students to get a hands-on sense of campus life and to participate in regular college lecture courses. The transportation issue has never been fully resolved and students often have long bus rides back to their homes, not pleasant in the dark of a Minnesota winter. However, the benefits of being on campus outweigh the difficulties of the extended day.

EVALUATION

The Edison outreach partnership has been evaluated through the use of course evaluation forms filled out by students every quarter, by instructors' end-of-quarter reports, and by retention and grades in the program. The number of students who go on to pursue higher education is also testimony to the success of the program.

Course Evaluations

Students evaluate their Commanding English courses at the end of each quarter. A final program evaluation, consisting of ten to fourteen open-ended questions, is given in the spring of the senior year. Students voice overriding support for the program. In the 1996 evaluations 100% of the respondents said that they would recommend the program to others. When asked what they felt was "most important, useful, or successful about your experiences in the CE program," students wrote:

> "getting lots of one on one with teachers"
>
> "every class has help me in some way, as learning how to write, learning about art, and other people are. And last, speaking in public is very helpful."
>
> "the sense of getting used to college life. Since I was enrolled until today, I am sure that my self-esteem of how is college life have increased greatly."

The other students echoed these sentiments, citing the exposure to college courses, the increase in reading and writing skill, and the instruction they received as being positive features of the program. When asked what they did not like, the majority said "nothing" was negative. A few mentioned the General Arts reading adjunct course and one student commented that grading was too tough.

Instructor Feedback

Each instructor during the initial 1991-92 year received funding to re-design the Commanding English courses to better suit the needs and pacing of a high school class. In return, these initial four instructors who taught the first courses in the Edison program were asked to write a summary of their experiences and recommendations. All of the instructors reported having enjoyed teaching the Edison students and said that their courses had gone well. They found the students to be enthusiastic and appreciative, although the long hours (7:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.) and occasional scheduling conflicts which required students to be on campus during high school break times did present some difficulty for students. Attendance was very high, and most students completed assignments on time. The curriculum was, for the most part, appropriate and manage-able, although all of the instructors put considerable effort into re-designing their courses to make them more accessible for high school students. To quote from one of the instructors:

> The biggest difference between the students in the Edison Project and the students in the regular sections of the Commanding English Program is developmental: the Edison students are a year or two behind in critical thinking skills. Both populations of students have similar language problems, but the regular (college) CE students are able to think more critically and as a result produce more sophisticated assignments.

The high school students had more difficulty with tests, note-taking, and reading. Students also needed more explicit directions for completing assignments and more time to grasp ideas. There is a tension between making the program accessible to high school students and yet keeping the standards and expectations of the courses high enough to justify college credit.

Retention

One of the best measures of a program's success is in its retention, and here, especially considering the demands of a college program on high school students, the retention figures have been positive (see Table One).

Typically, three or four students drop out during the first two quarters. One or two more students face family crises that make it difficult to complete the program; those who leave the program almost always cite personal reasons: a family move, lack of resources to continue in school, a baby on the way, or other related problems. The rest remain and graduate with honors and scholarships.

Of the students who graduate from the program, over ninety percent have been accepted into one or more colleges, often with significant scholarship support. In the 1994 group, four CE students received presidential scholarships (two each to Augsburg and St. Thomas University) and the group as a whole received over $36,000 in scholarships at the senior awards assembly. The graduates in 1995 and 1996 also received a number of presidential (four-year) scholarships. The 1997 CE graduates, if we add the six seniors who had been in the program the year before, were awarded over $200,000 in scholarships!

TABLE ONE:

Junior year	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
N completed/ total N	**15/17**	**15/19**	**15/18**	**16/22**	**24/24**
% completed the junior year	**88%**	**79%**	**83%**	**72%**	**100%**
Senior year	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97
N completed/ total N	**13/15**	**14/15**	**15/15**	**15/16**	**20/21**
% completed the senior year	**87%**	**93%**	**100%**	**%94**	**95%**
Retention for Two years	76%	74%	83%	45%**	83%
N completed Two years	**13**	**14**	**15**	**10**	**20**

The two-year retention rate is based on the number of students who began and finished the program and does not take into account students who joined the program in progress. In 1996, for example, **seven students joined the 1994-96 group for the senior year, bringing the overall retention rate up to 77% for this group.

Views from Edison ESL teachers about the program

The ESL teachers at Edison have been extremely supportive of the program and have contributed in many ways to the success of this partnership. Two of the ESL teachers routinely donate their classrooms to the program; one for the college instructors to teach in and the other for students to come to when they are not in CE classes. The teachers work with the students, offering encouragement and advice; they also work with the college instructors, orienting them to the culture of the high school. Without this support, the program would not work. The only objections teachers have raised is that Commanding English attracts the students who are often leaders in the school. Since as seniors they are at the University taking classes, it is difficult for them to take leadership roles and to participate in extra-curricular activities after school.

From the ESL teachers' points of view, Commanding English offers students a valuable introduction to college, giving students confidence that they can do college work. Students, too, have reported that their experience in Commanding English helped them when it became discouraging in college; that it gave them prior experience with college-level work and a sense that they can do this. For other students the value may be in seeing that college is not the best post-secondary choice. In either case, it is a way to put college-level aspirations in front of students. Another benefit of the program, according to one of the ESL teachers, is that it gives the LEP students in the first two years of high school something to strive toward, that students in the lower-level ESL classes work toward the goal of getting into Commanding English. "It seems to create not only a greater validity to their high school classes but also to evoke a greater urgency for acquisition of skills and mastering of content areas in high school" (personal conversation).

CONCLUSIONS

This model of a college language program carried into a high school setting enables motivated language-minority high school students to accelerate the development of college-level skills in reading, writing, and synthesizing material. The program aims high but builds in considerable support using tutorials, small class size, computers, and a well-trained staff of ESL experts. Students work hard, and through this find that skills and confidence increase. The program also allows students who may have outgrown basic "ESL" classes in the public schools to continue developing their language proficiency in a challenging academic setting. Students earn college credit, at no cost to their families, while gaining the skills and experience at a university which may well be a determining factor in a decision to continue higher education. For the high school, it is a valuable retention tool aimed at promoting a higher graduation rate and, more significantly, a higher rate of students going on for post-secondary education. The Edison CE Program has graduated five groups of students and is now in its seventh year. With the continued support of the Post-Secondary Enrollment Opportunities Act, the teachers and administrators at Edison High School, and the generosity of the University of Minnesota General College, this is an on-going, successful program which students and staff rate highly.

THE AUTHOR

Robin Murie directs the Commanding English program at the University of Minnesota General College. She has an MA in ESL from the University of Minnesota, where she has taught freshman writing to non-native speakers of English for over eighteen years.

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MOUNTAINS AND TREES

Mountains and trees are always there
Sun is not always there.
Appears and then is gone and reappears.
Life is like mountains and trees
Waiting for the sun to come out.

Youa Yang, 12th grade
Edison High School, MN

I REALLY WANT...

I really want to be alive
    don't want to be dead.
I really want to be rich
    don't want to be poor.
I really want to have friends
    don't want to live alone.
I really want to be happy
    don't want to be sad.
I really want to tell the truth
    don't want to lie.

Zang Xiong, 11th grade
Edison High School, MN

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Ch'emyon *in the EFL Classroom*

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Culture in the anthropological sense is a crucial element of any teacher education program for TEFL/TESL teachers who are native speakers of English, because most of these teachers face students who come from another cultural background and in many cases teach in multicultural classrooms with students from a broad range of ethnic groups and nationalities. Cultural translations are an educational tool that helps prepare these TEFL/TESL teachers for the bicultural or multicultural EFL/ESL classroom. This article presents a cultural translation of the concept of "face" in the United States and the concept of *ch'emyon* in Korea. The focus is on translating the Korean concept in its similarities and differences into the U.S. cultural medium. The translation begins with scholarly definitions of *ch'emyon*, continues with examples of *ch'emyon* in Korean social and educational contexts and in intercultural social and educational contexts, and concludes with a discussion of how *ch'emyon* can influence the behavior and the achievement of Korean students in TEFL and TESL classrooms taught by U.S. teachers.

INTRODUCTION

A couple of years ago, the *AETK Newsletter* of the Association of English Teachers of Korea provided a forum for the discussion of the expectations that Korean students have for their western English teachers (Kwon 1991; Kim 1992; Large 1992; Martin 1992; Holstein 1992). One of the underlying issues raised by this discussion concerned how much Western English teachers or English as a first language teachers should learn about Korean culture, especially if they were really meant to be teaching American or other western cultures along with the English language. These discussions are important and not limited to Korea. In the United States, ESL teachers also need to understand the culture of the student's home in order to teach the student in the classroom. ESL teachers in the K-12 system also need to interact with and understand the parents so that they can cooperate with them to promote the education of each child. All TEFL/TESL teachers need to understand the cultural background of their students to the best of their ability to promote equal opportunity in education to students learning English as a second language. In short, teachers from one culture need to understand their students who come from another culture in order to be good teachers.

This paper will support the argument that TEFL/TESL teachers need to understand the culture-based behaviors of their students. It will support this argument by looking at one isolated, yet crucially important, aspect of Korean culture that relates closely to what Korean students expect of their teachers and even their western English teachers: *ch'emyon* or face. The following analysis will be a cultural translation of this concept especially directed at non-Korean English teachers in Korea. First, the focus will be on interpreting *ch'emyon* or face. The term will be defined from the literature with a focus on Korean but also with references to Chinese and Japanese data. While the definition will try to provide the emic or insider's view, it will also be comparative and provide the etic view as it tries to translate *ch'emyon* not as face but in comparison and contrast to face. Second, the paper will describe how this concept manifests itself in social and educational contexts in Korea and with special reference to interactions with non-Koreans. Lastly, the conclusion will provide implications for TEFL/TESL teachers about how they can improve the teaching-learning environment for the Koreans in their classrooms by learning more about the culture of their students.

CH'EMYON

What is *ch'emyon* in Korean culture? Choi Sang-Chin (1994), a leading Korean social psychologist, translates *ch'emyon* "as 'social face,' prestige, dignity, honor, and reputation" (p. 2) and says that *ch'emyon* is very closely related to collectivism and Neo-Confucianism in Korea. One of his students, Choi Chang-Ho (1993), reported, "Literally, *Ch'emyon* means the appearance or surface of one's body. *Ch'emyon* can be maintained by oneself and also sustained or enhanced by others...(it) is to keep one's self-respect by protecting negative evaluation of others" (p. 1). A very important variable related to *ch'emyon* in Korea is hierarchical social relationships. *Ch'emyon* is always more important for the senior than the junior. The senior always has more *ch'emyon* to protect, and the junior has more responsibility to enhance the *ch'emyon* of the senior.

Ch'emyon has both negative and positive manifestations. Choi Sang-Chin (1994) reports that scholars have criticized *ch'emyon*, as it justified duplicity, formalism and status consciousness, and it encouraged showing-off and the over-use of honorific language. In another analysis by Choi (1991b), Korean proverbs provide excellent examples of these problematic issues. For example, "Upper class people won't swim like dogs even when they are drowning," because it would be a loss of *ch'emyon*. "People use toothpicks even after drinking water," to pretend to be eating meat, which would be more statusfull as it is more expensive. In other words, "the show" is substantive in Korea. In addition, Choi (1994) continues that "Korean people feel that their *ch'emyon* would be damaged if they admit defeat, take responsibility for their failure, or retract an erroneous statement they made in public. To maintain one's *ch'emyon*, people avoid admitting their own faults in public" (p. 12). Within educational contexts, *ch'emyon* rather than learning in or of itself may be the main motivation for students to study hard to be first in their class or to gain admission to a prestigious university.

At the same time, *ch'emyon* has positive connotations in that all human beings are given *ch'emyon*, at least to begin with. One does not have to earn *ch'emyon*, as one has to with face in the west. As the famous Chinese historian Lin Yu Tang (1935) wrote, "Not to give a man face is the utmost height of rudeness and is like throwing down a gauntlet to him in the West" (p. 201). In social interaction, you should not have to lay claim to *ch'emyon*, for it is the responsibility of others to proclaim the *ch'emyon* for you, as it is yours for others. Specifically, you would never brag that you got a promotion, but rely on others to do the showing-off for you. In many ways, *ch'emyon* is just one of the "other"-related social behaviors in Korea.

Ch'emyon is a very complex variable in Korean society. Choi (1994) claims that "there are five layers of *ch'emyon*: 1) virtue, 2) inner intention, 3) position and roles, 4) rules of propriety, and 5) outward behavior" (p. 13). As Choi indicates, the first two are private and hidden, the next two are social and imposed, and the last one is behavioral and observed. When these five layers are in agreement, one's *ch'emyon* is maintained. When they disagree, *ch'emyon* becomes more a deception and perhaps dishonesty. *Ch'emyon* may be lost if one's behavior contradicts one of the other four layers, as ego would be perceived as being selfish or individualistic (first), hypocritical (second), socially inept (third), or foolish (fourth).

In Korean, the most typical phrase using *ch'emyon* is: *ch'emyon cha rin da*, which means to set up *ch'emyon* in much the same way that someone sets the table (Choi, 1991a, p. 14). "Korean *ch'emyon* interaction is a process in which the participants try to publicize, or give praise to, the *ch'emyon* symbols possessed by the other participants..." (Choi, 1991a, p. 17). *Ch'emyon* actions can be reciprocal but can also be unilateral. The latter are very common in the hierarchical relationships that predominate most Korean interactions, as the junior in the hierarchy tries to broadcast the *ch'emyon* of the senior.

CH'EMYON AND FACE

Ch'emyon and face are important concepts that exist across cultures but with variation between cultures. While some western scholars have proposed that these concepts can be explained by a universal theory for all cultures, eastern scholars have maintained that these two concepts are different in that *ch'emyon* is other-centric and face is ego-centric behavior.

Brown and Levinson (1978) have proposed universals in "face" that include both a positive and a negative face, but Matsumoto (1989) rejects their universal notions of face as "foreign to speakers of Japanese" (p. 216). Specifically, Matsumoto states that their definition of negative face lacks a situational and relational component that would explain certain uses of honorifics and levels of speech in Japanese (p. 219). For Chinese, Gu (1990) agrees that politeness might be universal but that "polite behavior" is both culture and language specific (p. 256). Richards and Sukwiwat (1985) have also rejected this universal definition because of the differences in "face costs" from one culture to another (p. 138). Choi Sang-Chin (1991a), the leading Korean scholar on the subject, regards *ch'emyon* and face as different semantic categories and so rejects the translation of the Korean *ch'emyon* for face, and rather chooses to refer to each using the language of each culture. The West has a more individualized face that has public manifestations that are regulated by the interactors, but in Korea, a more socialized face that is regulated by others—observers beyond the interactors. In other words, face for Brown and Levinson (1978) in either its positive or negative expression is an individualistic phenomenon and is not other related, as it is in countries such as Korea.

If one reviews the literature on face, Choi's distinctions become clearer. Goffman (1967) provides the western perspective. According to him, in the Western sense, "face" has three characteristics: a positive nature, a claim of ego, and a recognition from others (p. 5). Almost twenty-five years earlier, Hu (1944) identified that "face" for Chinese has the opposite behavioral manifestations: (a) a negative aspect, (b) a claim beyond ego, and (c) societal consequences (p. 61). In her study of women in rural Taiwan, Wolf (1972) reported that a male informant defined "having face" as, "When no one is talking about a family" (p. 40). In other words, *ch'emyon* in Korea or its other variations in East Asian cultures is very other-related. As a long-time Korean observer noted, Koreans fear the "loss of face" and Americans try to gain face or "keep up with the Jones" (MacMahon, 1975, p. 84). Americans are more concerned with "self-respect" and Koreans with "group respect." For Americans face is "ego-oriented and can be earned," but for Koreans, it is "third-party oriented and must be protected" (Robinson, 1991, p. 160). Or put another way, face can be gained and lost in the West, but maintained or lost in the East although it can be enhanced for ego by others.

Richards and Sukwiwat (1985) provide one example of how "face losing" situations are difficult to manage in cross-cultural contexts and can result in minor embarrassments. While this situation is in Thailand, the social contexts are very similar to those in Korea.

> An example was provided by an American teacher recently arrived in Thailand, who went on a boat cruise with a group that included the governor of the province. The governor seated himself on comfortable cushion seats provided on the boat deck, and other Thais present did likewise. The foreigner as an act of courtesy seated herself on a less comfortable wooden chair. Several Thais present repeatedly invited her to sit on the more comfortable cushions on the deck, but she politely declined. Much later she realized the reason for their persistent invitations and hints. From her position on the chair, the foreigner was in a higher position than the governor—a cardinal sin in Thailand. The embarrassed Thais tried hints and suggestions, but would not raise the issue directly. The American missed the illocutionary force of their invitations. (Richards and Sukwiwat, 1985, p. 138)

In this interaction, the well-meaning behaviors of the outsider in a very innocuous context become social disaster. Overall, other-centric behaviors are stressed. The governor can not make an ego-centric behavior to claim or to gain face. The others in the group have that responsibility for the governor. In a sense, the foreign teacher had the same responsibility for her colleagues as they did for her. In other words, the locus of face control was external to each participant, although eventually in the hands of the foreigner. In this situation, the main concern of the Thai teachers is the negative potential for losing face. The Westerner's politeness did not work, as it did not meet the demands of modesty within this cultural context.

In his study on the relationship between *ch'emyon* and the two variables of self-esteem and locus of control (two important variables in American culture), Choi Chang Ho (1993) found that the more a Korean thought *ch'emyon* was important the lower his/her self-esteem and the more the locus of control was external. In Korean cultural terms, *ch'emyon* is more a variable related to group-esteem and external control which might be contrasted to the emphasis on self-esteem and internal locus of control in western societies.

Choi Sang-Chin (1991a) relates *ch'emyon* to face in the West as a difference between honor and *ch'emyon*. *Ch'emyon* may differ from honor in the more dual nature of *ch'emyon*. In *ch'emyon*, "one's intentions and overt behavior are expected to be at odds and where the importance of maintaining harmony often overshadows the desires of ego" (p. 16). In other words, *ch'emyon* is more likely than honor to put ego at risk of behaving in a way that does not promote self-interest. Honor is related to self-esteem, *ch'emyon* to social esteem. The former is more related to intrapersonal variables, the latter is an interpersonal variable. Second, differences between the Korean and the western meaning of *ch'emyon* and face can be seen in interpersonal exchange rules as well. For example, in the West, politeness is important, while modesty is in the East. In the West, a compliment to the other will generally receive a compliment in return, as both parties enhance the other's face. In Korea, a modest statement about ego's *ch'emyon* to the other elicits *ch'emyon*-enhancing behavior from the other. These are the interpersonal exchange rules.

A story might better illustrate the meaning of *ch'emyon* in Korea from a holistic perspective that includes both cognitive and affective understanding:

> Imagine yourself a woman in a communal bath house. You have soap in your eyes and the steam further restricts your vision. You head for the door to the changing room, but by mistake open and walk through a door that puts you on the street outside. The outside door has no knob. Where do you put your hands?

This story was a Korean woman's explanation of the meaning of *ch'emyon*. The Korean answer to the question, of course, is that you would cover your face. I do not believe that the Western concept of "face" would result in the same gesture. For the Korean woman, the question is how to deal with the other-centeredness of this face-threatening act, how to fend off the external control of her *ch'emyon*, how to defeat the negative consequences of her nudity, how to maintain social-esteem as opposed to self-esteem. While typical western interpretations may not describe her behavior as modest, in some sense, it would be in a Korean context.

So, *ch'emyon* and western concepts of face are different. The western concept of face is more ego-centered, has a positive nature, focuses on gaining face, is related to self-esteem or honor, has internal locus of control, and is manifested by politeness strategies. *Ch'emyon*, on the other hand, is more other-centered, has a negative nature, focuses on saving face, is related to social-esteem, has an external locus of control, and is manifested by modesty behaviors. The next two sections will report examples of how *ch'emyon* is operationalized in social and educational contexts and how problems arise in intercultural communication because of differences in definitions of *ch'emyon* and face for Koreans and non-Koreans in both social and educational contexts.

EXAMPLES OF *CH'EMYON*

In Educational Contexts

In Korea, students do take *ch'emyon* seriously, as it can become a life and death matter. For Chinese students, Hu (1944) has reported that the failing of a major entrance examination to college could result in such a loss of face that the students would commit suicide (p. 48). While Korean newspapers fail to report the statistics for this type of suicide in Korea, it is significant enough to be the theme of popular Korean movies. As noted above, passing these examination is *ch'emyon*-enhancing behavior for Korean students and their families. Failing them results in *ch'emyon* loss not just for one's ego but also for the family, and so affects group or social-esteem. In the classroom, *ch'emyon* then can affect the reluctance of students to make classroom comments, questions, and answers.

In Comments

A good example of how American egalitarian student behavior can cause disaster for a teacher from a more authoritarian system comes from a Japanese language class. An American student reported how she inadvertently caused her Japanese teacher to lose face because he made a mistake in class.

> My maiden name was Paddock, also the name of one of the witches in Macbeth. The familiar of 'paddock' is a toad. So when I tried to explain this to my Japanese instructor, a very old-fashioned, almost courtly gentleman, he refused to believe that I had understood the dictionary correctly; he told me that no one ever has an 'ugly' last name. The next day the teacher arrived in class full of apology; he had obviously looked the word up in his dictionary. Then I felt bad, because I had put him in the position of making an error. The whole episode strikes me as a very Japanese kind of situation! (Sorenson, 1990)

In this situation, the American student controlled the face or social-esteem of the teacher and innocently enough set the table for him to lose face. Her behavior was the height of politeness, but lacked modesty. Modesty would have demanded that she say that her teacher was right in assuming that she misused the dictionary, as truly no one would have such an ugly name. This situation is a very good example of how innocent prattle can be devastating within an East Asian classroom. In other words, it is much smarter to sit and shut up than open one's mouth to say anything. According to Shaw and Garate (1984), similar disasters have marked the interactions of American undergraduate students with their

Korean and Chinese teaching assistants.

In Questions

For a student to ask a question and interrupt a lecture would be an admission of ignorance and would mean a loss of *ch'emyon*. In addition, it would be an ego-centric act that even if handled politely would lack in modesty, as the individual would be directing the class toward his or her own concerns and away from the group's concerns for which the teacher's lecture is directed. In a Korean sense, it would be showing off, which ego cannot do but rather needs to rely on others to do for him or her.

From the Korean teacher's point of view, questions from the class or other comments are classroom interruptions. These behaviors would also be viewed as "disruptive, hostile, or disrespectful" (Shaw & Garate, 1984, p. 97) and so would challenge the *ch'emyon* of the teacher. For the most part, students from East Asian countries would avoid the disharmony of asking a question, but that is not always the case. Hu (1944) reported that in China, "students at certain universities used to subject every new instructor to an intense questioning during his first lectures. Should he prove unable to answer, his incapability would be proven and his *lien* [face] lost" (p. 48). At the same time, while this behavior was the exception for teacher-student relationships and not the rule, it highlights the importance of the teacher's *ch'emyon* in this relationship. Many young Peace Corps volunteers in Korea during the 1970s also found that they were pelted with grammar questions by their students, who were really testing these neophytes to see if they had qualifications beyond their native-speaker status.

Generally speaking, failure to handle the situation meant a loss of face for the teacher. Several behaviors were proper: first, giving the right answer; second, avoiding any admission of ignorance by throwing the question back at the class for discussion; third, telling the student that this question will be handled in a later lesson; or fourth, telling the student to sit down and stop interrupting class. One *ch'emyon* losing behavior would be to admit ignorance but promise to look it up later and to report back—a very American response with the emphasis on the value of honesty in American culture. In Korea, this emphasis can kill one's *ch'emyon* and cause a teacher a lot of relationship problems.

In Answers

For the Korean student, answering a question can also be a *ch'emyon*-threatening situation. Crane (1957) explains this phenomenon as follows: "To admit lack of experience and knowledge is to lose face" (p. 102). Students are taught to seek perfection and therefore, they are reluctant to answer if any doubt is present. A wrong answer to a teacher's questions would be a public display of ignorance. In other words, answering a teacher's question requires a strong sense of *ch'emyon* (confidence). If the answer given was incorrect, one response might be to smile widely, in an attempt to save *ch'emyon*. In a teacher handbook for American teachers of Korean students in the U.S., Lee (1982) also points out that students may even be reluctant to give answers to questions that they know, as a correct answer might be interpreted by peers as showing off. Lee also argues that this reluctance to talk is not shyness but simply a reaction to a face-losing situation (p. 110-11). Normally, in the Korean classroom, the student's *ch'emyon* is not challenged, since teachers ask all of the questions in rhetorical form and so provide all of the answers.

This author's own summary of Korean observations concluded that students did not ask questions in class because of a possible negative chain reaction: if the teacher did not have the answer, the teacher would lose *ch'emyon*, the dyad relationship between teacher and student would be weakened, and learning would suffer. Thus, *ch'emyon* is a key cultural concept in the teaching-learning process involving Korean EFL students. At the same time, if the students like their teacher, they may be inclined to answer questions directed by the teacher to protect the *ch'emyon* of the teacher. In this situation, the failure of the students to answer questions is tied to the teacher's failure to teach properly. Answering questions then becomes the responsibility of the students in order to protect the *ch'emyon* of the teacher. Still, student reticence may limit this behavior to popular teachers.

For the EFL Classroom

In the classroom, the differences between *ch'emyon* and face, the differences in the emphasis on gaining and losing face have major implications for cross-cultural teaching and learning situations. For example, Busbee (1994) reported complaints about dismal participation by Korean students in English conversation classes. He quoted a colleague who said, "They just sit there. They don't even try. They are lazy, or shy, or afraid of making mistakes" (p. 29). While Busbee attributed this problem to introducing communicative language activities to students with a low level of oral language proficiency, another argument would be that some of the cause, at least, is cultural differences related to *ch'emyon*. In short, western-based TEFL teachers are promoting an interactive, communicative competence-based curriculum that is *ch'emyon*-threatening for students who are expecting a talk and chalk approach that values memorizing the book with or without understanding. In short, the Korean student has expectations of what is going to happen in class, and these expectations are very different from those of the expatriate western English teacher.

In addition, without an understanding of *ch'emyon* and its related behaviors, a Westerner can easily stereotype *ch'emyon* behaviors in a negative way. For example, at a recent TESOL conference on silent female students from Korea and Japan, one American female attributed the silence to intimidation. Essentially, the American female was judging the Korean female based on observed behavior. The Korean female was silent and so she must be intimidated. From an American perspective, this analysis may make sense. Within a culture that emphasizes individuality and competition, silence is generally viewed negatively. But, within a culture that emphasizes the group and collectivism, silence may actually mean stubborn persistence—almost the opposite of intimidation.

As the non-Korean TEFL/TESL teacher interacts with Korean students in the classroom, the above discussion of *ch'emyon* leans to several suggestions. Students who use silence to avoid the loss of *ch'emyon* may be problematic for the TEFL/TESL teacher not used to this kind of academic behavior. Overcoming this problem means that the TEFL/TESL teacher should first organize tasks that are perceived by students as nonthreatening to their *ch'emyon*. This organization begins with the teacher and then extends to the classroom.

ACKNOWLEDGING *CH'EMYON* IN THE CLASSROOM

"Setting the Table"

For TEFL/TESL teachers in Korea, the first step in projecting and maintaining is to "set the table." The good news is that *ch'emyon* will be given to them but it can be lost. "Setting the table" in this context means meeting Korean expectations for a teacher in appearance and behavior. Many of Professor Kwon's (1991) comments touch upon how this can be done. The specific details can be elicited from almost any Korean colleague in the department. Certainly, the way one dresses for class and the way one behaves with colleagues and students is a very important component of "setting the table." Another piece of good news is that after you have "set the table" and have established relationships in your teaching situation then you can loosen up a bit. If you set the table well, students will be more likely to answer questions and to participate in classroom discussion to avoid the loss of *ch'emyon* by you, the teacher. Paying attention to Korean culture in this way should also help avoid stereotyping your students, as in the above example from a TESOL conference.

In Group Work

After "setting the table," bridging the face gap may be easier than understanding the difference between *ch'emyon* and face. The TEFL/TESL teacher must develop strategies to help students to gain *ch'emyon* when speaking English and to relieve their fear of "*ch'emyon* loss" in English-speaking contexts. The two least threatening task structures teachers can incorporate are pair work and small-group work. In Japan, La Forge (1975) developed a strategy to reduce the silences and to increase the speaking among female Japanese students in junior college. Adapting methods developed by Curren (1976), he designed group and pair activities that gave his students a chance to practice language among themselves before using a new structure in front of the class or teacher. This practice gave the students time to gain *ch'emyon* (Americans might say to gain confidence) in English in a situation with a lower threat (in front of fewer people). The more such practice students had, the greater their sense of gaining *ch'emyon* became, and as a result, the more confident they became about speaking in class with the teacher in whole group instruction. By moving from pair, to small group, and finally to whole class work, TEFL/TESL teachers can help their Korean students gain *ch'emyon* in English. Over time this strengthening of *ch'emyon* in English should result in fewer silences and enable your students to participate in classes in a more active manner. In other words, your Korean students will abandon the use of the native culture, the "*ch'emyon*-saving" strategy of silence, and develop western "face-gaining" strategies.

In Question and Answer Sessions

Even in large classes, a TEFL/TESL teacher can increase student participation by paying attention to *ch'emyon* in at least four different ways. First, the simplest way is to ask true questions of your students. In other words, ask your students questions for which you do not have the answer. As the question is not a test, the answer loses its threat to *ch'emyon*. Second, be sure to tell your students that you do not know about this subject under discussion or choose a subject that the students would not expect you to know about, thus avoiding losing *ch'emyon* yourself. The safest topic is about Korean culture and language or the subject matter specializations of your students. Third, tell your students that there may be many answers to the question. You will most probably find that the silence that follows the question is shattered by answers after you identify that it may have more than one answer. Fourth, ask questions for which your students are experts, or ask questions that the students know at the content level. As a student would then be providing information to fill a void, the act of answering a question changes from a threat to *ch'emyon* to a *ch'emyon*-enhancing behavior, as the answer allows the student to give one's knowledge to another. Granted, this type of questioning may be ridiculous in a listening or reading comprehension setting, but in a grammar practice or speaking class where the point is more to practice language than to get the right answer, it would be a natural approach.

In Feedback

Positive and negative feedback by TEFL/TESL teachers directed at the comments and answers of their students is also very closely related to *ch'emyon*. Negative feedback, such as "that's wrong," will obviously cause a loss of *ch'emyon* and may be physically observable. For example, students may smile to protect their *ch'emyon*, may bury their heads in a book, or may blush as their faces turn a bright red. Generally, a more neutral feedback strategy communicates that the answer is wrong but without a negative effect on *ch'emyon*. For example, if the answer is only a little off in either content or grammar or both, the teacher might simply repeat it, but with the correction, for the whole class to hear. If the answer is completely wrong, the teacher could simply ask, "Does any one else have another answer?" The teacher might also say, "That's an interesting answer that I had not thought of. Anyone else?"

Believe it or not, positive feedback can also be a problem with regard to *ch'emyon*. High praise or excessive praise may be a problem for several reasons. First, such praise may put a difficult *ch'emyon* burden on the student, who then has more *ch'emyon* to protect in the future. Second, excessive praise may separate the student from the peer group and cause relationship problems between students in the class. By the same token, one probably cannot go too wrong when praising the whole group. Lastly, too much praise may lull students into thinking that their *ch'emyon* is safe and sound when it is not. Many Korean teachers and parents are very reluctant to praise for fear that such praise will result in less effort as the student or child becomes overconfident. So, EFL teachers, particularly from the U.S., might want to water down the praise with their Korean students.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper argues that behaviors such as *ch'emyon* have major effects on the level of participation by Korean students in Korean EFL classrooms. Specifically, for this behavior, the TEFL/TESL teacher's first goal may be to provide an environment which does not threaten the students' *ch'emyon*, allowing them to learn and to practice language. How the TEFL/TESL teacher dresses and behaves as well as how he or she asks questions, gives praise or organizes the class may well influence this environment in ways that either inhibit or encourage participation. Less specifically, almost every classroom behavior in Korea may be related to *ch'emyon*, and so almost every action or inaction by the TEFL / TESL teacher of Korean students needs to be determined with this cultural concept in mind.

In a broader sense, this paper argues that non-Korean TEFL/TESL teachers need to learn about the culture and language of their students. The more TEFL/TESL teachers know about *ch'emyon* and other aspects of Korean culture, the better equipped they will be to teach in the Korean EFL classroom. One might even argue that the more the TEFL/TESL teacher knows, the more satisfied he or she will be with the teaching-learning environment in the classroom. At the least, this cultural knowledge should help the TEFL/TESL teacher to avoid judging Korean behavior by ethnocentric, non-Korean standards. At the most, such cultural understanding should help the TEFL/TESL teacher to adapt TEFL/TESL teaching strategies developed in the West for the Korean classroom environment.

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THE ONLY ONE

There are a lot of people
in this world,
but you are the
only one I love.

There are a lot of people
in this world,
but you are the
only one I want.

Your are my life.
You are my dream.
If you are the moon,
then I will be the stars.
If you are the bees,
then I will be the
flowers so I can see
you all the time.

Soua Vang, 11th grade
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The Changing Artwork of the Hmong[1]

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This paper seeks to provide an introductory overview to the folk art that the Hmong are famous for. The forms and variety of folk art made by both men and women are outlined with a brief discussion of how this art is changing as a result of the influence of American culture.

INTRODUCTION

When people talk about the artwork of the Hmong, the first thing they usually think of is the fabulously embroidered storycloths. Through these textile works, Americans have begun to learn who the Hmong are and why they are in the United States. Most people, however, do not recognize the other types of needlework produced by Hmong women, such as batik, appliqué , and cross stitch, nor do they recognize the fine craftsmanship of the Hmong men .

Since 1975 the Hmong of Laos have entered Wisconsin, Minnesota and California schools in great numbers. Classroom teachers as well as Chapter I, speech and language, and ESL teachers have all worked diligently to provide Hmong students with the oral language and reading skills they will need to live in the United States. The Hmong impact upon our schools has been significant. Art, Music and Social Studies curricula in some parts of Wisconsin reflect the Hmong impact upon our schools.

However, American schools are also seen as the biggest factor in changing the artwork of the Hmong in the U.S. Adults need to go to school to learn English to get jobs leaving little time for their artwork. Children, by law, must enter school at exactly the time that traditionally they began learning the artwork of their ancestors. With homework and well-meaning attempts to bring volunteers into homes to assist children with after school tutoring, there is little time to practice the needlework, even if parents or grandparents have instructed youngsters.

American schools must recognize and value this artwork for this is where much of the culture and history of the Hmong people are embedded. We do not want to lose the art of the newest immigrants to America.

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[1] This paper was first given at the Wisconsin Art Conference in the spring of 1997. It was also given at Northwest Wisconsin Teachers Convention in October 1997 and was selected as the "Heartland" talk at the 1997 Midwest TESOL conference in Milwaukee.

FOLK ART

The artwork of Hmong men is often referred to as folk art while some people think women's fiber art is at a level of sophistication far exceeding folk art. The technical and artistic skill achieved in many story cloths is surpassed only by the renowned Oriental embroideries (MacDowell, 1989). Nevertheless, when we look at the definition of folk art, we can see that Hmong artwork fits all of the five criteria:

1. The artist has no formal training.
2. It is influenced by cultural traditions and customs.
3. It is passed down from generation to generation.
4. It is functional and serves a purpose in daily life.
5. The media for the production of the art is found in the immediate environment. (Bender, *et al*, 1994, p. 7)

MEN'S ARTWORK

Hmong men do not relate to the term "art." There is not a word in their language like *paj ntaub*, referring to women's needlework, to describe men's work. In Hmong culture "art" is incorporated in all they do (Randall, 1985). Baskets, weapons, musical instruments, implements and jewelry were all created by Hmong men. They were basic, utilitarian and functional. They played an important part in daily life, but they are in essence a form of folk art.

Weaving with grasses and bamboo is one of the more obvious examples of Hmong folk art. In Laos, fine grasses were woven so tightly that some baskets could hold water. Baskets loosely woven of twigs were used for storing and drying vegetables in attics. Sturdy baskets worn on the back were used to collect firewood and carry lunches and tools, for the way to the family garden was often long. Lovely decorative baskets were created to store women's *paj ntaub*. Large flat baskets were woven of flat bamboo strips to winnow chaff from rice. Open-ended fish traps were ingeniously woven puzzles. Even Hmong homes were made of large flat panels of woven bamboo slats.

Musical instruments were as crude as a leaf or a blade of grass for wooing a young lady or as complicated as the bagpipe-like *qeej*. The *qeej* was made of various lengths and diameters of bamboo, all carefully curved. The complexity of sounds and tones was determined by both the air blown into the wind chamber and the size of the finger holes. And as if this were not complex enough, all this was done while spinning and turning on one foot in a semi-crouched position. Both of these activities greatly taxed the player's lung capacity. The mournful sounds of the *qeej* were usually heard at funerals and New Year's festivals (Wilcox, 1986). The Hmong language consists of consonants , vowels and tones. Even if the vowels and consonants are stripped away, as musical instruments do, some Hmong people insist they understand the "words" played by the *qeej* and other musical instruments because they can duplicate the tones of the language.

There was also a wide variety of bamboo flutes used for specific purposes at ceremonies, festivals and rituals. The *ncas,* resembling our small mouth harp, served also as a weapon, with a sharp stiletto blade concealed in it. Musical instruments were played while walking through the jungle as an announcement that a man was coming and not a greatly feared tiger.

Weapons such as cross-bows, arrows, sling-shots, knives, and an occasional rifle, were all hand-crafted by the men of the village. Knife handles were carved of horns, antlers, bones or wood to fit the user's grip. Blades were forged in a variety of lengths and shapes according to the specific intended use. Hoes, axes, scythes and other garden implements were crafted by the male artisan. This knowledge of metalsmithing carried over into the fashioning of jewelry.

The Hmong used silver bars for dowries or "bride price" and this price was closely related to the needlework skills of the young woman. Each bar was equal to 380 grams. The bars were melted down and fashioned into jewelry. Traditionally necklaces, rings, earrings and bracelets served a religious function rather than being merely decorative. Worn around the neck and extremities, the jewelry bound the soul to the body. Moments after birth, babies were presented with a simple silver necklace to inform the spirits that this child was spoken for. Necklaces of entwined strands of brass, copper and silver had unusual healing powers for the wearer. Some of the heavy, tight-fitting, curved, silver necklaces were to remind the Hmong of the shackles they were forced to wear during Chinese captivity. The magnificent necklaces that cover the upper chest took four to five bars of silver to make. Their weight is symbolic of early Chinese oppression. Old French coins , to remind Hmong of French domination in the 1930's, and newly forged Lao silver coins jingle as men dance and women walk (Hamilton-Merritt, 1982). For centuries, Hmong have not only worn their wealth and art, but also their history.

As silver became scarcer during the war years, significant changes occurred in jewelry. Aluminum and silver/aluminum alloys began to be used for much of the jewelry. The lower cost allows more Hmong to own these symbols of their ethnicity. The lighter weight of the large necklaces makes wearing them more comfortable. The aluminum from shell casings, downed airplanes, aluminum cookware and pop cans were all melted down and used for jewelry and other items. They are all remnants and remembrances of the war that tore Hmong hearts and homelands apart.

Hmong men in America no longer have the time nor the need to continue crafting baskets, weapons, farm implements, musical instruments and jewelry, even if the raw materials were available to work with. Most Hmong men are not finding ways to use their traditional skills the way that women have managed to continue doing needlework as an outlet for their creative spirits. Hmong men in the U.S. are losing the ability to perpetuate much of their artistic heritage.

WOMEN'S ARTWORK

In the mountains of Laos, the Hmong were nomadic. They used a slash and burn style of farming and moved as the soil nutrients were depleted. Much time was spent outdoors eking out their existence. Their houses had dirt floors, no windows and were bare and utilitarian. They lacked chimneys so the inner walls were covered with soot. The only decorative item in the household was a *paj* hanging in the doorway as a good luck sign (Hamilton-Merritt, 1982). Villages consisted of a mass of houses with no sidewalks or streets. There were no theaters, libraries or schools, for the Hmong had no written language before 1955. Storytelling fulfilled many intellectual needs such as entertainment, philosophical pondering, history of their people, and the teaching of morals and values. Villages had no temples or churches, where historically in other countries much of the artwork of a culture was displayed. The Hmong, being animistic, had family altars in their homes, for ancestor worship (Garrett, 1974).

This type of life encouraged textile arts that were easily carried or worn. Hmong women stitched textiles to measure the passages of life from birth to death. Like many migratory peoples, they view their clothing as a special symbol of their ethnic identity and as a means to assert kinship and to interact with the spirit world (Kohler, 1985).

Bridal attire included various articles given to the bride by family members as part of her dowry. Her mother gave her an intricately batiked and appliquéd baby carrier to insure many children. All children wore black, close-fitting hats with brightly-colored appliquéd patches, earflaps and needlework resembling rooster combs. Red-yarn pompoms and tassels added more color. Children wore these hats until they were about ten years old to disguise their souls so evil spirits could not snatch them away. Small children in back carriers, indeed, looked like bright little flowers bobbing in the breeze (Hamilton-Merritt, 1982).

For everyday wear, Hmong men and children wore hand-loomed hemp pants and shirts that had been dyed a deep purplish blue-black from the indigo plant that grows in the hills of Laos. The men wore a simple black skull cap with a single red top knot. Red is an aggressive color, the color of blood, symbolizing the power of the flesh over the spirits. The red top knot protected the wearer against illness, injury and death. All of these clothes, each a piece of art, were all made by women and each was decorated with one or more of four types of artwork: batik, cross stitch, appliqué, and embroidery.

Batik--White Hmong women wore pleated skirts of eight yards of bleached hemp. Blue Hmong women wore pleated batik hemp skirts. Traditionally the Hmong grew the hemp, spun the strands into fibers and wove their own fabric. Hmong women also prepared the indigo dye from plants cultivated in plots. Producing batik cloth for skirts was time consuming, and the work was difficult and intricate. It demanded extended blocks of time to complete. High degrees of concentration and patience were required. Special equipment consisting of pens, waxes, dyes and drying racks took up a lot of space. Only a few women ever learned this textile technique. They had to arrange with other women to do their childcare, farm and garden work. Batik fabric was bartered or sold to women of the village, as baby carriers and skirts needed to be made of batik.

In the 1960s cotton cloth was introduced to the Hmong (Mallinson, 1988). It was much lighter to wear, especially if the hemp skirt got wet in the rainy season. The finer, closer weave of cotton allowed batik artists to make more elaborate designs. Patterns were laid down with no stencils, rulers or markings. The artist's only gauge was the weft of the fabric. It took a keen eye, a steady hand and a good memory to produce patterns handed down for generations. There are as many names and interpretations for the whole cloth patterns as there are women trying to remember them (Mallinson, 1988). The "old lady design" is said to have come directly, unchanged, from China. During an oral interview with a Hmong woman whose mother does batik in St. Paul, she insisted that some of the designs are really written Hmong from the days that Hmong lived in China. Another simple design with a regular pattern and solid thick lines is called "pattern of the grandmother." It was usually made by an old woman with failing eyesight but also by young girls just learning the art of batik.

Whereas batik is a complex process needing lots of space and time to complete, the other forms of Hmong textile art are very portable. They can be picked up and worked on anytime and anywhere.

Cross Stitch--Cross stitch is thought to be the oldest form of needlework, straight from the peasants of China. It was traditionally done on black, even-weave cloth. The threads used in an "X" design were shades of navy, blue, and purple, derived from the indigo plant. Unstitched or negative areas were important to the whole design (MacDowell, 1989). These small pieces were used on men's trouser legs, cuffs, sashes, and vests worn for ceremonies and New Year's celebrations. The cross stitch designs were seen on women's aprons, shirt collars, small coin purses and children's hats. Later as brighter colors were available from traders, yellows, greens and whites were combined in striking designs on the black cloth. Today, in America, we are seeing cross stitch done on coarser even-weave cloth, making the stitches larger to save time so they can produce and sell more. Red- and navy-colored even-weave cloth are replacing the black, giving a totally different hue to the finished work. It is common to see coarse, white, even-weave fabric being used, producing large "X"s with large unstitched areas.

Appliqué--Appliqué is the most frequently seen type of Hmong needlework. Again, it comes from China, specifically the northwestern regions (White, 1982). There are three kinds of appliqué:

1. Simple appliqué is seen on larger pieces where a piece of fabric is cut out and sewn to a larger base fabric. The raw edges of the fabric are tucked under and tiny stitches keep the edges from raveling. The large triangles that appear as borders are simple appliqué. Tiny red squares are sewn on batik pieces as part of an overall design.

2. Folded appliqué gives surface dimension to different pieces. Long strips of fabric are carefully folded at 90 degree angles and stitched down. Red-folded appliqué highlights batik skirts and baby carriers.

3. Reverse appliqué is the most sophisticated and difficult of the three types of appliqué. While Blue Hmong are known for their marvelous batik, White Hmong are renowned for their skill in reverse appliqué . At least two layers of fabric are needed. The top one is carefully folded much as we would fold a paper snowflake. It is finger-pressed and, with small sharp scissors, stylized, geometric designs are cut freehand with no pencil markings. This top layer is basted to the bottom fabric. The raw edges are needle turned under and minute, nearly invisible stitches secure the delicately cut top layer to the bottom layer of fabric. Sometimes Hmong women split our American spool thread to get strands thin enough for their intricate stitchery (Perkins, 1984). At times it is possible to count forty stitches to an inch. Yet as

delicate as these pieces look, they are indeed very durable and washable.

Embroidery--The most well known type of needlework is the embroidered story cloth. Hmong call it *paj ntaub dab neej*, or flower cloth of people and customs. Opinions vary about their origin. It has been argued that they emerged spontaneously in the Ban Nam Yao refugee camp in 1977. (MacDowell, 1989) Susanne Bessac (1988) states in *Embroidered Hmong Story Cloths* that they were first made by the Flowery Miao women who had made large embroidered animal cloths in China before they moved to Laos. Tim Pfaff (1995) writes in *Hmong in America*, "Missionaries had collected Hmong folk tales in the 1960's to use in school primers. They taught some Hmong men how to draw characters to illustrate the books. Years later, when faced with the unwelcome idleness of camp life, men continued to draw and Hmong women experimented by transferring the drawings to cloth." This was quite a leap for a people who for centuries avoided all representational art. Only those with hereditary rights to use wax had once dared to draw or write. "Children who drew in the dust were spanked, lest the pictures become the place for evil spirits. Perhaps the horrors of the times when Chinese governors burned villages and killed thousands resulted in extreme measures for assuring supernatural protection" (Bessac, 1988, p. 12).

The first attempts at figures were cross stitched rows of Hmong women dressed in traditional clothing. After these were sent to relatives in America, it was suggested that Hmong still in refugee camps should do other things to help Hmong in America remember their homeland. The resulting story cloths are yet another theory of their origins. These first wall hangings showed stereotyped animals made with templates. They were in profile with limited physical motion. There was no overlapping and no perspective. Larger figures did not mean they were closer and in the foreground, and what was smaller was not necessarily to be interpreted as farther away. In a story cloth with figures, the natural environment was minimalist but great detail was given to the animal and people's clothing. Although only a very few men (rarely women did the drawing) drew designs on the cloth with ball point pen, a needle artist's individual touch made each finished product unique. Women selected the colors of the threads and decided where French knots, satin, herringbone, running, chain, buttonhole, or outline stitches would be used. The women had such an uncanny skill in replicating specific birds that they are identifiable in bird anthologies. Women used no hoops or stretchers, as we do, for doing embroidery. They would simply fold and baste the fabric back, paying close attention to the grain line, and exposing only the small section they were working on.

Types of Story Cloths

In the mere 20 years since the story cloths originated, they have expanded and evolved. They document, record, chart, retell and preserve Hmong culture. There are at least six different categories of story cloths.

1. Story cloths documented which crops were grown by Hmong in the hilltops of Laos. They showed the implements for sowing, tending and harvesting. Men were holding scythes with back baskets filled with freshly cut bundles of rice; boys were grinding corn; women were threshing rice with a foot powered machine; girls were winnowing rice from the chaff with flat baskets. Earthenware stoves, forges and bellows were embroidered in detail. Everyday chores such as feeding the chickens and pigs are often found in story cloths.

2. Story cloths recorded New Year's festivals with courtship games and beautifully attired young men and women tossing brightly colored balls. Weddings showed finely decorated umbrellas. Ritual sacrifices were intricately recorded, lest young people forget Hmong customs. Even the men's entertainment of betting on cock fights and bull fights have been embroidered.

3. Story cloths charted the terrain of Laos. Rice patties, houses on stilts, and Lao dress showed the differences between Lowland Laos and the mountain life of the Hmong. The highlands, small fishing streams, foot bridges, and trails through trees, bamboo and flowers, help older American Hmong remember the happy days in Laos before the war.

4. Ancient folk tales and myths were retold in pictures. Sometimes the story was written and embroidered in poorly spelled and spaced English words. Not everyone likes this type of story cloth. "To reduce Hmong myths to comic book episodes runs counter to the fluidity of oral tradition" (Bessac, 1988, p. 12).

5. The journey to the Mekong River along treacherous paths and then the effort to cross the river are shown by many different needle artists. Every person had his own tale to tell. Rafts, inner tubes, blown up plastic bags, plastic juice jugs, logs lashed together forming crude rafts, and boats show some of the flotation devices Hmong used to cross to safety. The story cloths show exhausted Hmong, carrying children and valuables, being chased from Laos by soldiers firing guns, only to be met on the other side by Thai soldiers robbing them of their valuables.

6. Women showed the violence, torture, and death of war in powerful ways on story cloths. Blood, gunfire, airplanes, helicopters, bombs, yellow rain and flags tell of the awful battles.

7. Newly learned Christian beliefs are evident in story cloths

that included nativity scenes, churches and huge shining crosses. Bible passages were embroidered on some of these story cloths.

CHANGES IN HMONG ARTWORK

Hmong absorbed new ideas from the cultures of the countries they migrated to and these were grafted onto their own characteristic art forms. The Hmong who left China did adapt many elements of Chinese life. The high-collared shirts, the baggy, long-crotched pants of the men and the apron-like panels women wore covering where their skirts came together, all resemble Chinese peasant apparel. Much of the Hmong jewelry has Chinese origins. The distinctive Hmong clasp is of Chinese origin. Hmong folktales and songs make reference to life in China. Batik and cross stitch are Chinese in origin. Some geometric designs used in Hmong *paj ntaub* were adapted from Chinese drums and temples dating 400 BC.

As the Hmong began moving into Burma, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in the late 18th and early 19th century, they came into contact with lowland and foreign traders. Cotton was introduced to the Hmong. They had wonderful fabrics and threads in bright colors not attainable with natural dyes. Hmong reverse appliqué became vibrant with lime green, hot pink and neon orange. Blues were set upon pinks, grays upon yellows, reds upon greens. Needle artists delighted in these new spectacular colors. Shiny fabrics could be purchased or traded and the tedious task of stone polishing fabrics to achieve a luster was no longer necessary. Clothing became beautiful beyond belief!

But while in the Thai refugee camps in the 1970s, Hmong *paj ntaub* underwent another dramatic change. There were no gardens or animals to care for. No crops to sow, tend and harvest. The forced leisure upon a seldom idle, hard-working people was difficult. Time was irrelevant and to pass the time, women did needlework. The Christian and Missionary Alliance encouraged Hmong women to put their geometric cross stitch, appliqué and reverse appliqué designs on marketable items, such as book marks, pillow cases, bedspreads, eye glass holders, clutch purses and wall hangings. Needlework became a business, not a labor of love for the immediate family members. The Hmong needed money to supplement their meager rations and provide adequate medical care for family members. Needlework changed from spiritual to materialistic.

It became a product that unknown people in a far off country would buy. Producing needlework for Americans meant subduing their outrageous yet exciting color combinations. Their work became less colorful, using only two colors. They began to use muddy blues, beiges and tans to match American decor. Red, white and blue combinations were popular. The complementary colors of red and green became Christmas colors that sold well. The quality of workmanship was no longer prized; quantity was. The camps were not a very clean place to work. Smoke permeated fibers. Hemp and cotton cloth were forsaken for the 35/65% cotton/polyester that could be washed without shrinking and would remain wrinkle free on the trip to markets across the world.

ARTWORK IN AMERICA

Older Hmong women have continued producing needlework for sale. Craft fairs, church bazaars and shops sell Hmong needlework. Reverse appliqué and small story cloths are stitched to sweatshirts, jumpers, and tote bags. The variety of fabrics available in American stores has changed the clothing of the Hmong. Where once the shirts and pants were black indigo-dyed cotton, they are now made of sparkling velvet. Turban style hats utilizing seven to eight yards of indigo-dyed cotton have been replaced with beads and sequins on easily removed western-type hats. Plastic covers much of the fine needlework on a child's clothing. Young girls' legs that once were wrapped for modesty are now encased in nylons. Imitation necklaces of rows of pearl beads are worn by little girls. This "jewelry" is being made by women, not men as it once was. Fabrics merely printed to simulate batik and cross stitch are making their appearance.

Art dies when there is no change. Art is constantly changing, moving and adapting. It dies when it no longer has vitality and is only imitative. The survival of the Hmong has depended upon their ability to absorb, adapt and change, while still retaining their ethnic uniqueness and traditional family values. How the different Hmong groups in the past have been able to maintain their sense of culture without the use of written records is amazing. Now that many Hmong have learned to read and write both English and Hmong, it is a safe bet that their culture and customs will be preserved. Hmong value hard work and ambition. Their drive and energy will help their artwork survive. Already, Hmong Americans are duplicating clothes worn by Chinese Hmong. They are aware of their bountiful history and are striving to preserve it.

THE AUTHOR

Alice teaches at Longfellow Elementary in Eau Claire, WI. Her education is in art education and she has collected Hmong artwork since the 1970s. Alice has been secretary as well as member-at-large on the board of WITESOL.

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Creating University Communities

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Cultural differences often impede the communicative abilities of freshmen international students who are placed in regular university courses and separate ESL courses. Many of them do not need more English training; rather, they need to learn cross-cultural competencies. To facilitate the development of these skills, ESL instructors must find ways to foster a sense of community in their classrooms and in the university. As a means of introducing university international students to such academic interaction, I suggest that two concepts from the field of intercultural communication, high context/low context and individualistic/collectivistic continuums, can inform our teaching practices as we incorporate student management teams and field research projects into our teaching curriculum.

Research in intercultural communication has much to offer university ESL instructors: it helps to illuminate the difficulties encountered in acquiring a second language and also those encountered in assimilating a second culture. For example, cross-cultural researchers Gudykunst and Kim (1992) classify cultures on an individualistic-collectivistic continuum. Individualistic cultures place more emphasis on individual choice, while collective cultures place more emphasis on group harmony. Hall (1976), in his now classic definition of cultural messages, states that people in collective cultures transmit meanings with high-context, or implicit, messages, while people in individualistic cultures use low-context, or explicit, messages. The ritualized tea ceremony in Japan is an example of communication in a collective, high-context culture. The plethora of television talk shows in the USA is an example of the excesses that can occur in an individualistic, low-context culture.

I believe that failure to address these continuums in our teaching pedagogy can cause a sense of isolation to develop in our ESL classrooms, a situation similar in some respects to the Eastern European ghettos of the past. Due to the limited contact between Jews and non-Jews, dangerous stereotypes developed, which often resulted in conflict. Similarly, if our ESL students do not feel that they are part of the greater university community, they often transfer or go back home because they don't feel they fit in. According to Wiley and Lukes (1996):

> Courses such as these [ESL Composition and Remedial English] are intended as gatekeepers for students who are considered 'underprepared,' or less euphemistically, those who 'don't belong' in the university. In professional jargon, many of the students are likely to be 'nonnative speakers of English' or students of 'limited English proficiency.' ...Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the composition of such courses is that students are assigned to them based solely on their English test scores without consideration of their diverse individual linguistic backgrounds. (p. 513)

In other words, international students may feel set apart from their peers if they are required to take separate ESL courses. University ESL instructors in such courses must consequently strive to introduce their students to meaningful academic interaction.

In my experience, university ESL courses develop unique cultures in isolation. My ESL students, for example, often initiate lively discussions about their views on university life, a situation comparable to tourists on charter bus trips who excitedly discuss their daily tours back in the isolation of their hotels.[1] I am glad that my students have cross-cultural discussions, but I am disappointed that these talks occur, for the most part, only in the company of other international students.

As an instructor, I must consequently find ways to get my ESL students out of the ghetto and off the bus. To accomplish these goals, I use student management teams to enrich the culture—and my teaching practices—within the classroom as well as field research projects to bring my ESL students into contact with the university community outside my classroom.

I have noticed in my courses that students from South America sometimes think that Asian students are rather reserved and standoffish. Conversely, Asian students sometimes complain to me that Latinos do not display the proper respect in class. I am sure that I am not the only ESL instructor who has walked into a classroom to find all the Latinos sitting in one group, all the Asians in another, and all the Arabic speakers in the back. Instead of using my instructor power to force the groups apart, I allow my student management team to solve the problem.

Student management teams are based on the principle that students, as well as instructors, share the responsibility for the success or failure of a course. I find that such teams empower students by showing them how to take responsibility for their own learning and that team suggestions improve my pedagogy and my decisions about course content. According to Nuhfer (1997):

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[1] I would like to thank Dr. Klaus Gommlich for pointing out this simile.

> Students, in conjunction with their instructors, are responsible for the success of any course. As student managers, your special responsibility is to monitor this course through your own experience, to receive comments from other students, to work as a team with your instructor on a regular basis, and to make recommendations to the instructor about how this course can be improved. (p. 114)

Nuhfer (1997) suggests that such teams should consist of three or four students; that the students must all be from the same class; that they manage the class (absences, missed assignments, etc.); that they meet weekly to discuss the course; that the instructor attend the meetings only every other week; that the meetings be held in a neutral location (not in the classroom or the instructor's office); that the students keep a journal of suggestions, actions, and progress about the course which the instructor keeps after the course is finished; that the instructor provide the team with an initial task related to course content or delivery methods; and that compensation for the team's work must not come in the form of grades or credit.

Of course, team members must be reassured that their commentary will be taken seriously by the instructor, and that the instructor will keep an open, unbiased opinion about their suggestions. Final decisions about the course, however, should remain in the hands of the professor.

I have taken Nuhfer's ideas and applied them by assigning teams to observe and manage the cross-cultural interaction in my courses: both student-student and teacher-student communication. My teams consist of one representative student from each culture in the course. Before I used management teams, my traditional approach to class communication was to make sure that students sat in circles and that they did not sit beside people who spoke the same language as they did. However, because of team suggestions, I now increase the frequency of pair work in my class (some students found that group work became tiresome after a while), allow students to explain to the class how their cultural beliefs affect their communication patterns (it has helped defuse misunderstandings), and use shared writing through e-mail to discuss some class topics (it allows quieter students to participate more). I am sure that future student management teams will continue to contribute thoughtful suggestions.

Just as student management teams have improved the cross-cultural interactions within my courses, I find that field research stimulates cross-cultural interaction outside of my courses because it forces my students to crystallize their cultural mores and use them as analytical tools to examine university life. Through their interpretation of their findings, students come to a deeper understanding of their intercultural experiences.

For instance, some of my students are currently working on this assignment:

> As a group, look at the spring course catalogue. Choose three courses you would like to take. Interview the professors teaching those courses about course content and appropriate study methods. Use the three interviews as the body of a group essay about educational opportunities at Saint Mary's University.

Before they began the assignment, we decided if their cultures were more high context or low context and if their cultures were individualistic or collectivistic. One student group consisted of a Malaysian woman, a Puerto Rican woman, and a Japanese man. In order to conduct effective interviews, they had to clarify their cultural assumptions about university professors, decide how those assumptions would affect their interview behavior, and modify both, if it were necessary. In my experience, ESL students who do not examine their professorial assumptions either show too much deference or else ape what they believe are the brash behaviors of U.S. students. Because my students can now explain how their core beliefs affect their actions, they should behave more professionally during their interviews and, I hope, learn how cultural assumptions have molded them as well. They can explore these discoveries more thoroughly in an intercultural matrix as they write their group report.

Surveys also give my ESL students a chance to compare their assumptions on issues with those of U.S. students. My Islamic students, for instance, are amazed by the prevailing attitudes about alcohol on our campus. Their survey research and resulting interpretations provide them an opportunity to examine an issue they could not explore in their native countries. As another example, a Laotian student who had seen executions first-hand did a survey on capital punishment and discovered that many U.S. students were in favor of it, a fact which he had not wanted to be true.

I believe that student management teams and field research projects for university ESL courses are partial solutions to a more serious problem. International students want to be a part of the broader university community but are often unsure of how to proceed. Confronted by a low context/individualistic society in which they find interaction difficult, international students sometimes seek the easy familiarity of other students from their same culture or the solitude of their dormitory rooms instead of actively engaging U.S. university culture. By incorporating management teams and field research into our courses, we help international students to break down cultural barriers before disappointment drives them from our universities and back to their own countries.

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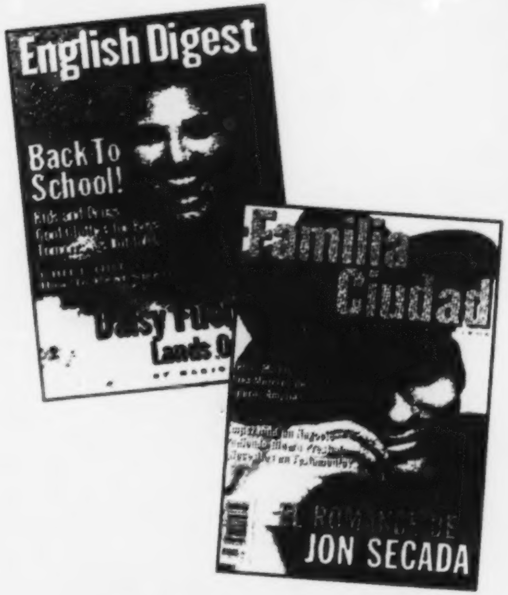

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Direct Grammar Instruction in the Communication-based Classroom

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MENOMONIE, WI

As language teachers we are constantly searching for the most effective means of helping students make sense of the syntactical structures through which language output is channeled and language input is understood. Modern techniques which emphasize the absorption of syntactical structures through input, repetition and manipulation of the language, and which encourage an implicit, intuited understanding of rules, have revolutionized our communication-based classrooms. But what is the place in the modern classroom of rule-based, grammar education? This paper reviews theoretical considerations for the use of rule-based (direct grammar) instruction, and presents a theoretical model for a direct grammar instruction which acts as a support mechanism for the communication-based curriculum. It concludes with descriptions of specific techniques which fit this model and which educators in the field have found effective.

INTRODUCTION

Direct grammar instruction is the teaching of grammar by explicit reference to grammatical structures and/or rules. This is a metalinguistic process, the goal of which is to acquire not only functional use of form but the cognitive ability to describe and even name a grammatical form as well. Historically, direct grammar was taught in isolation from language production skills even though its purpose was to improve those skills. But it was also taught as an important discipline in and of itself in the belief that grammatical analysis not only improved rhetorical skills, but because of the connection between the structure of grammar and thought, sharpened the analytical power of the mind (Weaver, 1979).

For the most part, we do not teach grammar as a separate discipline anymore. We and our students benefit from a "student-centered," educational environment where the focus is communicative competence and meaningful, productive language activities aimed at achieving it. Today, in many circles, emphasis is placed on *indirect* (or intuitive) grammar instruction, where forms are simply modeled for students in the context of production. We avoid the arbitrary dictums of rules by helping students to see how grammatical conventions function to assist them to communicate. Correct forms are then transformed through practice into intuitive habits which guarantee effective output. In fact, because students often do not connect rules to their own production, direct grammar instruction is seen by many as not only unhelpful but as counterproductive.

Indirect grammar instruction is widely accepted, and neither its importance to the profession of English as a second language in general nor the improvement of students' language skills in particular is at issue in the present discussion. But given the about face in attitude towards *direct* grammar instruction, wrought by dramatic changes in second language education in recent years, we might wonder about the fate of this old educational landmark. The question is: Does direct grammar instruction have a place in the modern second language classroom? And if so, in what form and to what end?"

THE CASE FOR DIRECT GRAMMAR INSTRUCTION

Lack of Research Evidence Against It

The argument over the effectiveness of direct grammar instruction has gone on for years. For example, in 1963 Braddock *et. al.* wrote:

> In view of the widespread studies based upon many types of students and teachers, the conclusions can be stated in strong and unqualified terms: the teaching of formal grammar has a neglibible or, because it usually displaces some instruction in practice in actual composition, even a harmful effect on the improvement of writing. (Braddock, *et. al.*, pp. 37-38)

In 1983, however, Michael Long published his own review of the research, broadening the scope to English as a Second Language. Long came to a conclusion that directly contradicts Braddock's. Formal instruction can not only be effective for improving second language skills, he said, but:

> The effect for instruction holds 1) for children as well as adults, 2) for intermediate and advanced students, not just beginners, 3) on integrative as well as discrete point tests, and 4) in acquisition-rich as well as acquisition-poor environments. (Long, p. 374)

Furthermore, Richards (1985) challenged advocates of a communication-based curriculum who claim that research shows conclusively that the study of grammar has no negligible effect on the improvement of anything, pointing out that there is no actual empirical evidence that proves that communicative language classrooms—especially those that preclude any learners' focus on form—produce better language learners than do more traditional classrooms.

Faced with this conflicting evidence as to whether direct grammar instruction does or does not improve second language skills, researchers have turned their attention away from the broad question. They have tried instead to ask if direct grammar instruction could be useful in specific situations, and if so, in which situations.

Time Constraints in Establishing a Language Base

Second language learners are not like native-speaking students. They lack the intuitive base of understanding of the language which is provided by the long years of first language, childhood acquisition (Meiser, 1992). This lack of language base makes it difficult for elementary students to compete academically with their mainstream peers. Middle and high school students with no L1 education cannot look forward to the up to seven to ten years of school education necessary to establish such a language base (Collier, 1989). Educators like Penny Ur believe that direct grammar instruction can reduce the amount of input necessary to establish a language base, making more progress possible in a shorter amount of time. Ur (1990) believes that a knowledge of grammatical rules—whether implicit or explicit—is requisite to mastering a language. She also believes that the time constraints on second language learning can be mitigated to some extent by using grammar as an organizing principle around which the total body of knowledge is presented in a gradual, systematic fashion. Grammar may furnish the basis for a set of learning activities during which it temporarily becomes the main learning objective. Seen this way, grammar becomes simply a useful scaffolding technique, used briefly to reinforce certain patterns and then discarded for the more meaningful context of the learner's own production and interactions.

Fossilization and Pidginization

Richards (1985) goes beyond refuting the claim that communicative classrooms promote language growth better than traditional classrooms; he is also concerned that students who are asked to achieve communication without regard to correct form will develop habits which will not only make their language incomprehensible or ridiculous to native speakers, but they will acquire incorrect habits that are difficult or impossible to break.

It was Selinker, as early as 1972, who first termed the expression "fossilization" to refer to incorrect patterns of second language speech which, even if irradicated after persistent efforts, tended to reassert themselves in response to stress, inattention, laziness and with time (Selinker, 1972). His research documents the long-term inability of these errors to respond to remediation once they had become established.

Ten years later, Higgs and Clifford (1982) expanded on the fossilization theme in conclusions drawn from extensive work setting up foreign language proficiency examinations for military and government service. They found that graduates of university language programs displayed a high level of vocabulary but a low degree of accuracy or function (pragmatics). Errors proved irremediable because of fossilization during the learning process in communicative classrooms. Higgs and Clifford's recommendation is that grammar instruction and error correction be returned to the foreign language classroom.

The Effect of Learning Style on Direct Grammar Instruction

Learning styles may give us some clue as to why researchers have had such a difficult time deciding whether direct grammar instruction is or is not effective. Hartnett (1985) investigated the preferred learning styles for groups of second language learners. He did not believe that any real superiority over either the inductive or the deductive method of instruction has ever been clearly shown. Instead, he believed that the educational community has embraced and then discarded one method after another as it has been found that it doesn't work for all students.

Hartnett's own research tested this hypothesis on thirty-four native English-speaking students in third-level Spanish classes at U.C.L.A. The students were given a choice of instructional methods using either an intuitive or an analytical approach. Results indicated that students did learn differently as evidenced by eye movement indicating hemispheric activity. It also verified that actual learning style matched students' preference and that learning was improved when methodology matched cognitive style (Hartnett, 1985).

Subsequent studies have reinforced Hartnett's conclusions (e.g., Harker, 1989). The applicability of this research to our present discussion is to suggest that direct grammar instruction, a decidedly analytical approach to language education, may be helpful to students of an analytic learning style and not helpful to students of an intuitive, nonanalytic learning style. Either way, it seems a valid concern that direct grammar instruction ought to be made available to students who would profit from it.

The Relationship between Culture and Learning Style

Reyes (1991) sounded a note of caution that we cannot assume that whole language learning approaches are equally effective across all cultures. She suggests that educators are in danger of falling into the trap of a "one size fits all" philosophy of language education. Reyes (1993) undertook a study of Hispanic bilingual sixth-grade students in which she looked at the use of dialogue journals and literature logs. She found that these students did not achieve rapid progress in mastering the conventions of writing and attributed the problem to lack of explicit teacher instruction.

> We must be aware that assumptions about classroom literacy activities appropriate in the case of many students from mainstream backgrounds are not necessarily appropriate in the case of many students from diverse backgrounds. (Reyes, p. 160)

The specific situations in which culture may pose a need for direct grammar instruction have not been given a great deal of research attention. Advocates of constructivist philosophies have noted cultural conditions which make teacher-based, hierarchical models ineffective in cases where cultures encourage students to learn from peers rather than adults or where these models tend to promote insensitivity to the values and goals of students with diverse backgrounds. On the other hand, the cultural backgrounds of many students from around the globe as well as minorities in the United States may leave them uncomfortable with unstructured or intuitive teaching techniques. Celce-Murcia (1992) notes the Asian reticence to participate in oral activities. Matsumoto (1997) addresses this difficulty also among Japanese in writing workshops. Michael and Lynn (1995) cite cultural limitations to students' active involvement in learning. Additional research is needed to determine exactly when more structured language instruction is culturally appropriate. However, authoritarianism is the rule in most parts of the world. It is safe to say that we should be careful not to allow our democratic notions of individualism and independence to blind us to the needs of people from other cultures where emphasis on hierarchy or communalism may demand structure.

Preparation for Academic Success

Cummins (1984) pointed out that we as second language educators were not providing students with a curriculum which prepared them for academic success. Since that time, a great deal of effort has gone into isolating just what language, content and metacognitive skills our students do need to afford them equal access to the opportunities of our society. In this regard, some second language educators suggest that the role of direct grammar instruction is being overlooked.

Delpit's work (1986, 1988) can help us to understand how the exclusion of direct grammar instruction from second language curricula can be one factor in dead-ending our students academically. Delpit believes that conventions of literacy, such as the written grammar of standard

English, are part of mainstream American culture, or what she calls "the culture of power." Mainstream students may absorb the rules of this culture by daily exposure to them, but minority populations whose families live outside the culture of power do not have the same opportunity. If minority students, therefore, are to be afforded the same opportunities for academic success, schools must acquaint them with such things as the grammar of standard English. Teachers may need to make some rules explicit to students. Delpit compares the situation to the problems faced by anyone entering a culture with which he or she is unfamiliar. She writes:

> When I lived in several Papua New Guinea villages for extended periods to collect data, and when I go to Alaskan villages for work with Alaskan native communities, I have found it unquestionably easier—psychologically and pragmatically—when some kind soul has directly informed me about such matters as appropriate dress, interactional styles, embedded meanings, and taboo words or actions. I contend that it is much the same for anyone seeking to learn the rules of the culture of power. Unless one has the leisure of a lifetime of "immersion" to learn them, explicit presentation makes learning immeasurably easier. (Delpit, 1988, p. 283)

Although Delpit makes it clear that she does not mean to suggest that direct instruction of language skills should take place outside the context of meaningful activities, she does fear that some teachers who adhere to constructivist models of education may be reluctant to provide students with explicit skill instruction because they do not want to appear authoritarian. To the contrary, she says that not making skills and requirements explicit to students will put them at a severe disadvantage for academic success because they will ultimately be "held accountable for knowing a set of rules about which no one has ever directly informed them" (Delpit, 1988, p. 287).

Practical Necessity of Teaching Grammatical Terms

While the time constraints on second language learners, the effects of learning style and culture, and the necessity of preparing our students for academic success may provide theoretical support for using direct grammar instruction, there may also be purely practical reasons for its use. The study of grammar sets up definitions by which we can talk about language. Particularly when doing editing or correcting, it is difficult to engage in a dialogue with students about their language unless they have acquired at least some of the terminology that direct grammar instruction provides. Weaver generally advocates the more holistic approach to language learning, but concedes this point.

> Doubtless it would have been helpful if students had a ready understanding of such terms as *clause* (independent and dependent), *subject*, *predicate*, and a few others.
>
> ...it may be desirable or even necessary to use some grammatical concepts and terminology in helping students become more effective language users. (Weaver, 1979, pp. 67, 89-90)

A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR THE USE OF DIRECT GRAMMAR INSTRUCTION

We see, then, that research does offer support for at least a limited use of direct grammar instruction in selected situations. Should the direct grammar we teach today replicate the old system of traditional grammar? Most educators say no. They believe it is possible to adapt direct grammar instruction to fit the needs of classrooms where communicative competence is the end goal. To Celce-Murcia (1991), this poses an exciting challenge to the second language educational community:

> . . . [It] is obvious that TESOL methodologists have not offered consistent advice to teachers about the role of grammar in language teaching over the past 25 years. The greatest potential . . . in these new and innovative language curricula lies in integrating focus on form with content-based and/or task-based language teaching. (Celce-Murcia 1991, p. 462)

Combining Instruction with Meaningful Practice

The concern of many theoreticians is that form-based instruction must be fashioned to create transfer of the skills to meaningful production. It is not enough for students to be able to manipulate a structure in exercises. They have to see how that structure can help them to communicate, and they have to be able to incorporate it into their own purposeful language production. Krashen (1981) expressed his concern that real language growth does not occur until knowledge of a language becomes intuitive, and he stressed the need for authentic second language input to achieve that end. But he also saw the use for direct grammar instruction in facilitating the process. He believed rules can creat a conscious knowledge of the language which the learner can use to "monitor" his speech production:

> Our goal is optimal Monitor use, using conscious knowledge of language to increase formal accuracy when it does

not interfere with communication.

Dougherty (1991) offers us evidence that by combining direct grammar instruction with meaningful practice, the quality of the instruction is improved. His experimental groups received three different treatments: traditional rule-based instruction, meaning-based instruction; and a combination of both. The group which received a combination of both grammar and meaning-based instruction performed best on post tests.

The Appropriateness of Direct Grammar Instruction Will Depend on the Structure Being Taught

Weaver, generally opposed to direct-grammar instruction, and Williams (1995), a defender of direct grammatical instruction, both agree that direct grammar instruction may be desired or even necessary in the case of some grammatical forms, and not desired or unnecessary in the case of others. In developing methodologies which employ the use of direct grammar instruction, therefore, it is imperative that educators ask such questions as: "What is the general objective of the learning experience?" "Does the use of direct grammar instruction contribute to this objective being met?" Seemingly, in some situations the answer to this second question will be "yes." In some situations it will be "no."

Complex vs. Simple Constructions

When trying to decide which grammatical forms warrant direct grammar instruction, some recent studies indicate that highly complex grammatical structures do not respond effectively to direct instruction. In a study by Robinson (1996), simple rules were best taught through explicit (direct) instruction, while complex rules were best taught by allowing students to intuit form without rules. DeKeyser's (1995) findings are similar. He concludes that explicit, deductive teaching is more effective for straight forward (categorical) rules while implicit, induction methods work better for "fuzzy" rules. In our efforts to improve methodologies in second language instruction, therefore, it may be more profitable to focus our use of direct grammar instructional techniques in areas where rules tend to be black and white.

Functional Grammar vs. Linguistic Grammar

If students do not respond to grammar instruction, perhaps it is because the model of grammar we are using is not useful to them. Many language educators have made this point. Robert Funk (1994) encourages teachers to replace the grammar we presently use to teach students with a grammar "for writing that is inductive, actively analytical, stimulating and discovery based." (Funk, p. 25) He complains that present grammars which divide sentences into subject and predicate do not meet the needs of providing students with a functional grammar that they can put to work in coherent writing.

Appropriateness Will Depend on the Level of the Learner

Weaver (1979) believes the maturational level of the learner must be considered. We should not teach children through direct grammar because they are not developmentally ready to conform their language to the requirements of the audience. Children's compositions are limited by their psychological maturation. Only time will expand their ego-centered perspectives to the point where they can see language as more than self-expression. Weaver fears that students will lose the experience of language as self-expression as rules become first priority. When:

> students . . . never get form and meaning back together, they become convinced that writing has no purpose other than to display their ability (or inability) to command conventions of usage, sentence structure, capitalization, spelling, and the like. They seldom if ever know the satisfaction of written self-expression, the pleasure of conveying thoughts or working through feelings through writing (Weaver, 1979, p. 60).

Active Involvement of the Learner in Rule Formulation

Fotos and Ellis provide some interesting results involving ESL students at Temple University in Japan. Students were asked to complete "grammar tasks" in which they viewed examples of good and bad grammar and then communicated in small groups until they arrived at a set of rules they then presented to the class. An early version of the study (1991) "demonstrated that Japanese learners at a college level increased their knowledge of a difficult 'L2' rule by completing a grammar task" (Fotos & Ellis, p. 605). A second study (Fotos, 1993) then confirmed this finding and went on to show that such grammar tasks led to a greater development of knowledge of problematic structures as compared to traditional grammar lessons and promoted significant language proficiency gains that were maintained even after two weeks. Thus, this work suggests that where an explicit knowledge of grammatical structures is necessary or desirable, involving students in an active process of deducing workable rules increases the efficacy of instruction.

Readiness to Receive a Rule

A study by Tomasello and Herron (1988), this time at the high school level, focused on students' attention to and readiness to receive a rule. Two experimental groups were allowed to induce a grammar rule through positive examples. However, a group which was informed of exceptions to the rules only after being allowed to make errors in the rule's application did better in retesting than a group which was informed of the exceptions from the beginning. Evidently the application of techniques which lead students to a motivational readiness to receive a rule improves the ability to apply the rule.

The recommendations of Weaver (1979) for teaching explicit writing rules are based on this interjection of direct grammar instruction (or any kind of language instruction) at the point when students see the need for it in their own writing.

Kolln (1990) approaches the question of when direct grammar instruction is appropriate from the perspective of proficiency. "We are teaching the wrong material at the wrong time," she says:

> It is pointless to try to teach seventh-graders that nonrestrictive, relative clauses must be set off by commas, if only because they are not yet sophisticated enough to appreciate most of the rhetorical uses of nonrestrictive clauses. (Kolln, 1990, p. 5)

The model of effective direct grammar instruction that emerges from this discussion is one in which direct grammar instruction is never offered in isolation, but is a springboard to authentic language practice within the context of real communication. It concedes that all grammatical rules or structures may not require intervention with explicit instruction, but educators must select the method of grammatical instruction that functions most effectively to meet the instructional objectives involved. The appropriateness of direct grammar instruction will vary with the maturational and proficiency level of the student as well as the complexity of the language form under consideration. Further, linguistic models of grammar should be adapted or replaced with models which are more friendly to the goals of second language learners. Finally, it is vitally important for direct grammar instruction to be effective, so it should be presented in a way that creates a readiness on the part of the student to receive it.

HOLISTIC TECHNIQUES FOR DIRECT GRAMMAR INSTRUCTION

In part as a response to the need to develop approaches to grammar which more closely integrate with the philosophies of meaningful, communication-based, second language acquisition, new techniques have been developed over the last few decades. For purposes of presentation, they have been roughly divided below into: System level (techniques which help describe the English language system in general); individual level (techniques which individualize direct grammar instruction); and structure level (techniques which may be targeted towards a particular structure).

System Level Direct Grammar Techniques

Exploratory English grammar—Foster and Smith (1990) argue as follows:

> traditional grammar instruction . . . does not improve student writing—but we argue that non-traditional grammar instruction, aimed at having students produce and manipulate their own sentences, can increase their syntactic fluency and ultimately help them come to see language not as an uncontrollable mystery, but as a flexible medium of communication over which they can exert far more control than previously believed. (Foster and Smith, 1990, p. 10)

They present basic English grammar to their students in the spirit of a class-wide exploration. The class is first instructed that all English sentences divide into three types: Subject/intransitive verb (S,IV); subject/transitive verb/object (S,TV,O); and subject/linking verb/complement (S,LV,C). Examples of each type of sentence are put on an overhead, students are asked to make up their own examples of each type, and students volunteer their creations for examination by the whole class. An example of each type of sentence is then put up on the overhead in such a way that circles can be drawn before, between and after each sentence part, and students are told that the circles represent places where additional information may be added to the sentence. This, however, is the last time that practice follows instruction. After that, all deductions about how the language works or terms offered to name forms created come after the class has already produced the item in question by their own explorations. Students are asked to produce sentences which add information in first one and then another of the circles and to volunteer their sentences for class consideration. As various types of constructions are produced, the class discusses them and names them. As usually happens, right branching sentences appear first in the students' creations, so in the spirit of explorers, the class is challenged to come up with left branching structures and feels a sense of success when they appear. The teacher plays the role of facilitator and guide to this process: "Hey, Ferdinand, you just wrote an appositive." As Foster and Smith comment, "Dumping the recognizable techniques of traditional grammar and replacing them with a focus on grammar as pragmatic opportunity, has yielded very good results in my situation" (Foster and Smith, 1990, p. 12).

Four family grammar—As with Foster and Smith, Caissie (1982) presents a scheme of English grammar which differs from the traditional view but seems to work in helping students develop an understanding of grammar that they can use. Caissie divides English predicates into four families that account for all forms, moods, voices and tenses. They are: simple action, modal, have and be. He focuses on one family at a time and then builds more complex structures through combinations. In Caissie's experience students become better able to comprehend, produce, and manipulate conjugations and tenses.

Sentence packing—Raimes (1990) reports that her approach to grammar helps students "to see grammar as an interesting, vital part of a living language, not just as something to get right or wrong in textbook sentences." (p. xii) She starts with a simple subject and predicate presented as an independent clause and then begins to build on it, working with the students to add first one structure and then another.

Seeing as the Brain Sees and Arcade Grammar—Laster (1990) has been applying the concepts of the cognitive process of instruction (CPOI) to help his middle school students master the complexities of English grammar. According to CPOI, the brain functions by the following principles:

> —The brain sees whole things. It looks at the whole, then the parts, and then goes back to the whole.
> —The brain remembers the bizarre, the unusual.
> —The brain notices colors and closed shapes, remembering them best.
> —The brain stores whole concepts as visual patterns to match to new information coming in.

Laster applies these principles to grammar instruction. He uses closed rectangles to outline subjects and predicates in sentences because these structures are memorable to the brain. He has devised visual representations or codes (circles, triangles, arrows, etc.) for all eight parts of speech. He marks "being" verbs with red, action verbs with green. He then presents the most elementary sentences on the overhead for students to label with the symbols. It isn't long before students notice compound subjects, compound verbs and compound and complex sentences as well as other common patterns.

> Having established verbal descriptions for simple sentences and other kinds of sentences by structure and having provided a set of symbols that distinguish quickly the eight parts of speech, I continue with these eight parts one at a time and look at their varieties as well as uses in sentences. (Laster 1990, p. 27)

Wellington and Perlin (1990) have made grammar into a similar recreational activity: students are presented, on an overhead, with a list of sentences and a list of code strings that represent them and asked to match the real sentences with the coded ones. Once the students have the idea, the basic system can be used to generate a number of activities. Students can create coded sentences from an actual sentence, or they can create an actual sentence based on a coded pattern. They can come up with coded sentences and challenge the other students to create a sentence using the same pattern. They can come up with their own set of codes and challenge other students to decipher them. It is a concept which lends itself easily to interactive games.

The Lighter Side of Grammar—Martin (1989) may present the ultimate solution to teaching grammar to students who do not see the relevance of it—making it funny. Her book, *Review and Revise,* is illustrated with cartoons from the *New Yorker, Far Side* and other sources, which show how meaning can be affected by rhetorical situations. Martin provides a good example for the rest of us in one way to "lighten up" our instruction.

Individual Needs Level Techniques

Perhaps the greatest shift in second language writing instruction in the last few decades has been from class-wide instruction, in response to the curricular needs of the teacher, to individual instruction in response to the needs of the student. The idea is that, as part of the process of writing, students are best able to receive information about the accepted conventions of grammar (or mechanics in general) as the need for it arises in their rough drafts and when they are most ready to connect the function of conventions with effective communication. The most common methods used are margin notes, journaling, conferencing, peer editing and minilessons, and these work well for either direct or indirect grammar instruction or a combination of both. A number of other innovative variations on these themes have also been developed.

Personal Editing Workbooks—Joranko (1990) offers her students a "create your own" workbook. The workbook is divided into two parts, the first of which is created by the student and is the most important. There are seven essay units in the first part, each consisting of an error log, a spelling worksheet and several other lined worksheets. The student is in charge of logging their own errors marked on each returned essay. The students create their own explanations for each error correction—in a sense write their own handbooks. The teacher can target a few errors at a time or involve the student in deciding which errors should be targeted. The second part of the handbook contains explanations of grammar and mechanics that Joranko has written, including a section on style. She discards common grammatical jargon she judges not to be useful to students, replacing "comma splice" with "fused sentence," "independent clause" with "potential sentence" and "dependent clause" with "less than a sentence" (Joranko 1990, p. 21).

Charting Your Own Course—In *Applied English Grammar* (1992) Byrd and Benson outline a system for working with the students, not only to diagnose the language areas they need to work on, but to help them determine their best learning style. The students each write an essay which is then edited either by the student, the teacher, or both. In the book, the students then locate their errors on an extensive chart and self-diagnose the areas they need to work on. To complete the self-diagnosis, Byrd stresses the importance of helping students to understand that each person learns best in their own unique fashion. Towards this effort, the book provides extensive material for helping students discover the method which will be most effective for them.

Grammar Logs—The ESL students of Fass and Swierzbin (1997) at the Minnesota English Center maintain interactive grammar logs. In response to the particular grammar points students have studied and practiced each week, the students are asked to describe their experiences. For intermediate students, the responses are quite structured. For example, students are given a list of possible ways that the weeks's grammar points could be practiced outside of class and asked to choose one. For advanced classes, responses are more open-ended—for example, "This week I learned . . . ," "This week I practiced my grammar when I . . .." Since the logs are interactive, they also provide a method for students to express reactions to grammar and get additional needed clarifications.

Journaling on the Web—Wang (1993) conducted a study of dialogue journals done by e-mail as opposed to the usual paper and pencil technique. He found that e-mail communications resulted in more writing per session for both students and teachers. The amount of actual interaction increased and had a closer similarity to face-to-face or phone conversations. Both students and instructors had a positive attitude towards e-mail interaction regardless of their computer background or typing skills. Students in both the e-mail and non e-mail groups focused on grammar and vocabulary and edited sentences as they wrote.

Methods Which Can Target a Particular Structure

Grammar Anonymous—Parsons (1995), selects sample sentences from students' work and puts them up on an overhead for the class to edit and discuss. She is careful that all students' work is eventually sampled and that the author cannot be identified. The teacher can focus the class discussion by selecting a sample that illustrates the particular grammar point the teacher wishes to highlight.

The Natural Science of Grammar—Raimes (1990) has students first hunt for examples, then looking at what they have collected, try to induce the rules. An examination of nouns found in authentic text, for example, might easily yield the rules for count and noncount usage.

Eavesdropping on Grammar—In their book, *Applied English Grammar*, Byrd and Benson (1992) combine the "active involvement" and "contextualization" themes of good direct-grammar instruction by having students find real life examples of grammar principles in use. They not only use print media for this (having students find prepositions in newspapers, for example), but they also send their students out into the real world to look in places where a particular structure might be found in concentrated oral use. For example, when studying question formation, students spend time hanging around an information booth, or report on questions asked in a talk show.

Grammar Cheers and Songs—Laster (1990), a middle school teacher, has adapted cheers and songs to help reinforce grammar principles. He believes the active, enthusiastic involvement of his students in these activities aids in retention. Students, for example, shout, "Be, been, being, is, am, are, RAH," or for personal pronouns, "I, you, he, she, it, we, they, HEY." Laster also finds that it is possible to sing an alphabetical list of prepositions to the tune of "My country, 'tis of thee," as long as you choose the prepositions judiciously. For prepositions in context, he also likes "Over the river and through the woods to grandmother's house we go."

Grammar Tasks—Fotos and Ellis (1991, 1993) investigated the effect of providing students with examples of good and bad grammar and then allowing them to communicate in small groups until they arrived at a set of rules which they then presented to the class. This "grammar task" method resulted in an increase in their knowledge of a difficult rule and promoted significant proficiency gains that were maintained even after a two week period.

Down the Garden Path—Tomasello and Herron (1988) asked their students to apply grammar rules without alerting them to the existence of irregular cases. The students were instructed in the irregularities only after they had been allowed to make mistakes. They were then given proper instruction and allowed to redo the exercises. The study showed that knowledge and retention increased over traditional instruction when a readiness to receive a rule was first developed in this manner.

Dictogloss—Nabel (1996) studied the effectiveness of a technique called dictogloss. Through this method, students are induced to negotiate information about grammar in small groups as they try to reconstruct a passage read to them by the teacher. The process involved these steps:

1) The teacher reads a passage to the whole class at a normal speed. The students are allowed to take notes if they desire.
2) The class is divided into small groups and asked to re-

construct the passage from notes and memory. It is emphasized that the reconstruction does not have to be verbatim, but that meaning and completeness are important.
3) Students interact in small groups in order to combine their memories and notes to reconstruct the passage and to exercise their explicit and implicit knowledge of grammar in the process.
4) The class reconvenes and discusses the various groups' reconstructions.

Nabel's study showed that about half the small groups' negotiations were grammar based, about a third were meaning-based.

Fun Games and Activities—Though such things may be in use in classrooms, no one seems to have collected fun games and activities specifically focused on direct grammar instruction into a publication for classroom reference. This is probably more of a reflection of our conviction that grammar is so dull that it resists being made fun. Word or phrase scrabble adapts itself to grammar instruction for example. Also, when teaching the concept of sentence fragments, students can play "frag." A starter word is put on the board, and the idea is for students to add words to it that make sense but do not cause a complete sentence to be created. The student who cannot add a word without forming the string into a complete sentence has to come up with the next starter word.

Ur (1990) gives some useful guidelines for creating games. She suggests incorporating elements into games and activities that add interest for the students. The elements she lists are: 1) Using a topic that students can relate to; 2) Incorporating a visual focus; 3) Leaving activities open-ended so that outcomes will be surprising; 4) Creating information gaps; 5) Providing room for the activities to be personalized; and 6) Creating a pleasurable tension through competition, time limits (See how many present progressive sentences you can make up in 20 seconds), the introduction of extra constraints or rules, unpredictability, entertainment and play acting.

CONCLUSION

It is the author's hope that this discussion of the theoretical bases and methods of direct grammar instruction may provide some material for thought on the part of second language teachers, perhaps sparking reflection on the methods of grammar instruction that most benefit our students. There is no doubt that traditional, direct grammar instruction for second language learning will die with this millennium, and few but the nostalgic will attend the funeral. Its offspring, a learner friendly variant, will, however, find itself alive and well in the second millennium, less as an end in itself than as a support mechanism assisting students on the road to communicative competence. It will be a grammar through which students gain a control over and a sense of empowerment from their command of language. From it they must draw a confidence in their own self-expression that makes them full and equal participants in the literate world.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The American Ways: An Introduction to American Culture, 2nd edition, Maryanne Datesman, Joann Crandall, Edward Kearny. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents. 1997. 277 pages.

The second edition of *The American Ways* is a visually appealing teacher- and student-friendly text which is written for high-intermediate to advanced students, foreign visitors or immigrants. The text can be used as a reading text, for teaching about the culture and institutions of the United States, or for teaching cross-cultural communication.

The book consists of twelve chapters each based on an American institution or aspect of life: The Heritage of Abundance, The Frontier Heritage, Government and Politics, Education, Ethnic and Racial Assimilation are a few. Each chapter begins with a thought provoking, relevant quote by a famous American followed by preview questions which also, conveniently, outline the learning objectives for the chapter. There follows a 9 - 12 page (3500 - 4500 word) reading which is broken up by subheadings, photos and graphics on almost every page. New vocabulary is in bold print, and is defined in the end of chapter glossary. There is also a new vocabulary index at the back of the book which lists where the new word first appears in the text. Concepts and data are defined and clarified through the use of many tables, graphs and charts. Although the reading level is fairly advanced, the layout and format make the book very "readable" for students.

One of the stated purposes is to encourage readers to critically examine their own values, attitudes and behaviors in order to better understand ours, and to become more sensitive to and accepting of cultural differences. To this end, there are many higher level critical thinking activities which encourage evaluation, analysis and synthesis of concepts, data, observations and values. There are 9 - 12 pages of follow-up activities after each reading. Every chapter has vocabulary building and comprehension exercises as well as questions for discussion. Additionally, each chapter has a different combination of pair work and small group activities, interview questions, values clarifications exercises, suggestions for observations, research and oral reports, and for writing and debate topics. At the end of every chapter are suggestions for further reading and recommended movies related to the chapter theme. The variety and quality of activities offered is the strength of the text.

Anyone considering adopting the text for a class should also invest in the Teacher's Resource Manual. It includes answer keys, lesson plans, listening and speaking activities and reproducible masters to reinforce specific reading skills or for collecting, organizing, studying and reporting data.

Any text which tries to concisely explain American culture and institutions (in this case in 269 pages) will inevitably fall short in its efforts. In this book, the teacher must beware of statements, definitions and descriptions which are either overly simplistic or extreme examples of what is being defined. A quote cited describes conservatives in the heartland as more likely than the average American to drive a pick-up truck. "Around the house, men enjoy woodworking, the women gardening, and everyone snuggles into their recliners to watch TV....." (p 15). In trying to illustrate the importance of competition in our culture, one individual is quoted describing criticism of competitive sports as "the revolutionaries' attempt to break down the basic foundation upon which society is founded" (p 198). And while on one hand the authors devote a page to describing politically correct language (and some space in the introduction justifying the use of the word "American"), the very next page includes a glaring and insulting mistake when listing some American ethnic groups: Hispanics, Latinos, Asians and blacks. In other places, the authors recommend that students conduct experiments in behavior to observe peoples' reactions. However, some of the experiments could result in students causing and having a negative experience. Some examples of these experiments are to go into an elevator where there is one other person and stand right next to that person, or, go into the library, find a student sitting alone at a table, sit down and push your books and papers more than halfway across the table toward the other person, then watch what happens.

Any instructor teaching out of this book must, like the students, think critically and anticipate where the text might contribute to false impressions or negative experiences and either avoid or use those elements as teaching tools in themselves.

In spite of its shortcomings, I like the book for the variety of activities which are designed to improve reading, critical thinking and study skills while exploring American culture and institutions.

REVIEWER

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New Ways in Content-Based Instruction, Donna M. Brinton, Peter Master, eds. New Ways in TESOL Series II: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1997. 302 pp.

This book is one volume in the *New Ways in TESOL Series II: Innovative Classroom Techniques,* edited by Jack C. Richards. Brinton and Master have applied a broad definition of content-based instruction to this text, and it includes three approaches or models: theme-based, sheltered content-area, and adjunct courses which pair a content course with a language/learning strategies course. All three approaches strive to integrate language curriculum with the academic or career interests of the students.

This volume contains activities which were contributed by a variety of second-language professionals working in diverse settings. The editors have classified these activities into five categories: *information management, critical thinking, hands-on activities, data gathering,* and *text analysis and construction.* Each contribution contains a brief overview of the activity, a purpose statement, the intended target level, an approximation of the preparation and class time, resources, and procedures necessary for implementation, as well as caveats and options, and a background statement about the contributor(s). In addition, many activities include a reference for further reading and appendices with the specific materials and instructions. The editors stress that these activities are not recipes and encourage readers to add and adapt ingredients according to the strengths, weaknesses, and goals of their students.

The level of students for whom the activity has been designed appears on each lesson plan. A survey of these reveals that the majority of the entries are suggested for the intermediate-to-advanced levels (over fifty) and seem most appropriate for use with ESL/EFL secondary and post-secondary students. Ten activities for learners at the beginning-to-intermediate level and eight activities appropriate for any level were identified. One is specifically designed for teachers and researchers. These activities focus on a range of skills: reading, writing, listening, speaking, grammar, and vocabulary development, and they encompass cultural, political, environmental, social, economic, and moral issues.

According to the editors, the intended audience for this volume includes a wide range of professionals—language instructors of all ages and levels as well as teacher trainers, administrators, and materials developers.

New Ways in Content-Based Instruction has many strong features. The activities are structured to develop communicative competence, that is, teaching a second language for the ultimate goal of communication with and like that of native speakers. Thus listening, speaking and writing for specific purposes are the aims of the lessons, and authentic reading texts and materials are incorporated in the plans. The suggested techniques for classroom implementation follow the presentation, practice, and production format, and provide the specific context in which these activities were effectively implemented. The instructions are explicitly detailed so that adapting and applying these plans to varied learning situations is facilitated. Examples of specific background material, instructions, role play simulations, questionnaires, and handouts provided a strong foundation for further curriculum revision and development.

The major limitation of *New Ways in Content-Based Instruction* is the lack of an efficient method to access those activities most appropriate for the reader's intent. While levels are identified for all activities, no definitions or criteria are provided for "beginning," "beginning-intermediate," "intermediate," and "high intermediate or advanced" levels. The classification system also lacks a common basis: three of the sections, *information management, data gathering,* and *test analysis and construction* seem to be based on what students will need to do to manipulate the information; the fourth category, *hands-on activities* seems to be based on *how* the students will manipulate the information and the *critical thinking* would seem to indicate the why or purpose for the exercises.

While no classification system would allow for mutually exclusive categorization, using a system based on sequential and cumulative levels of learning such as *Bloom's Taxonomy of Education—The Cognitive Domain* (Kruthurchl, Bloom, and Maria, 1964) would provide more consistency and provide a more efficient means of accessing activities. Thus, the editors might have identified sections according to the type(s) of learning reinforced by each activity using the following categories: 1) literal recognition of information; 2) interpretive comprehension and discovery of relationships among facts, generalizations, and definitions of values and skills; 3) application or problem-solving requiring the identification of issues, selection and use of appropriate generalizations or skills; 4) analysis or problem-solving using conscious knowledge of all items of the information; 5) synthesis or problem-solving which requires original, creative thinking; and 6) evaluation or a judgment made according to designated standards.

Readers might also be able to locate activities most appropriate for their current needs in a more expedient fashion had these activities been identified based on the context of their prospective use, that is, which type(s) of content-based instruction might be more appropriate for the activity—thematic or the sheltered-adjunct models. Both of the sheltered and adjunct models are often limited by access to the content course and are more appropriate for intermediate-to-advanced-level students. While content-based approaches to instruction imply that language instructors allow the content to dictate the selection and sequence of language items, this is especially true with the adjunct model in which students are enrolled concurrently in two linked courses, a language and content course, and the sheltered model in which students are enrolled in a modified content course where adaptations have been made to the text, lectures, and course materials. In both of these approaches the content curriculum requires a magnitude of assignments and materials to be addressed by the language instructor.

Since the curriculum and materials used in the language component should complement the content course and transfer to a variety of university disciplines, the following activities are very suitable for these contexts. "Navigating a Syllabus," "Synthesizing from the Start," and "Making the Most of Office Hours" assist students to analyze course requirements and utilize campus resources. "Expanding Academic Vocabulary" guides students in sorting general English vocabulary from content specific terminology and prioritizing their learning tasks. "Discussing Data" provides a procedure to select key information for a report. And "Content Pursuit" and "Quiz Your Way to the Top With Jeopardy" enable students to identify and review adjunct course material. All of these provide strategies necessary for academic course work.

However, a theme-based course can be used in more settings and at all levels and this often provides instructors with more options and latitude when incorporating reading, listening, discussing, and writing skills around one or several topics. The following activities can serve as a foundation for comprehensive thematic units. "Advertising and the Audience" provides students with opportunities to listen while classifying television commercials. "Music Video is the Story" allows students to create stories and build vocabulary while exploring popular cultural themes. "Mystery, Mayhem and Essay Planning" focuses on planning the structure of an academic essay with a thesis, reasons, and evidence through the genre of the detective murder mystery. "Write Your Congressman" provides practice applying critical reading skills and learning formal letter writing while studying relevant political issues. Through these samples it is evident that the ingredients of *New Ways in Content-Based Instruction* are diverse, rich, and plentiful and can inspire second-language educators to create nourishing cuisine, especially for secondary and post-secondary students studying English for academic purposes.

REVIEWER

Patricia Stoffers has an MA-TESOL from St. Michael's College, Vermont and teaches ESL to both international and permanent-resident students at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire.

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  The *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a Second Language in the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal*.

- **Manuscripts**

  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief abstract.

  Submit three paper copies of the manuscript and abstract. Upon acceptance of your article for inclusion in the *Journal*, you will be asked to send us a computer diskette of your article.

  Contributions to Volume 17 should be submitted to:

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INTRODUCTION

Welcome to volume 4 of the *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal* as well as volume 16 of the *MinneTESOL Journal*, where we continue the tradition of publishing articles of interest to ESL professionals in Minnesota and Wisconsin. This collaboration continues to strengthen our ability to provide both affiliate memberships opportunities for professional growth and development. As always, we welcome your contributions of articles, book reviews, student work, and discussions of on-going issues in the field. Your contributions make the journal.

We begin this volume with an article by Elaine Tarone. Based on recent population figures and projections which indicate a continued increase in numbers of English Language Learners (ELLs) throughout Minnesota, Tarone proposes four areas in which we need to plan ahead to meet the needs of these students: (1) clear statewide criteria to identify ELLs; (2) viewing programs for this population of students as permanent rather than temporary; (3) programs which combine teams of mainstream instructors and ESL/bilingual teachers to better serve the academic needs of advanced learners; and (4) better funding for adult ESL programs with a focus on workplace literacy.

In the second article George A. Youngs, Jr., and Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs focus specifically on the perceptions of mainstream teachers regarding the advantages and disadvantages of having ESL students in a mainstream classroom. The results of their study point to the need for teamwork and collaboration between the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher, evidence which strongly supports Tarone's point (3) above.

Next Perry R. Rettig describes a program developed at Lakeland College to meet a need for more licensed language minority teachers in local ESL and bilingual classrooms. He discusses the students (of Spanish and Southeast Asian language backgrounds), the support given, both at the family and community levels, and the obstacles the students and the program have met and dealt with.

The last two articles provide practical information for classroom use. Based on the premise that lack of meaningful context in teaching is often of greater concern to the academic success of ELLs than is lack of English skills, Marina Hammond suggests ideas and techniques for teaching context rich units with interesting, complex learning activities.

For our final article, Carl Gao gives concrete advice for teaching past participles (-en) versus present participles (-ing), a diagnosed problem area for ELLs.

We have five book reviews in this volume. The first is *Street Speak: Essential American Slang and Idioms*, 1998, by Burke and Harrington. *Street Speak* is for ESL students, particularly suitable for high beginners to advanced levels. Its purpose is to expand their use of American slang and idioms. The second, *Extensive Reading in the Second Language Classroom*, 1998, by Day and Bamford, provides practical advice and information in setting up an extensive reading program.

The last three are geared towards SLA and ESL professionals — teachers, researchers, and graduate students. *Materials Development in Language Teaching* , 1998, edited by Tomlinson, is a collection of articles meant to help professionals develop classroom materials and teaching strategies. *Beyond Training: Perspectives on Language Teacher Education*, 1998, by Richards, is a guide for developing second language teacher programs, a comprehensive coverage of what is needed to develop a good teacher training program. And finally, *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*, 1998, edited by Doughty and Williams, provides a broad range of information and differing viewpoints on this current topic.

As we did in volume 15, we have included some student work. We have the work of three of Ellen Mamer's students from Century College in White Bear Lake. Look for them and enjoy them.

With this volume Don Hones of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh joins Suellen Rundquist of St. Cloud State University as co-editor. We both hope that you find this volume interesting and enjoyable. We wish to thank all the contributors to this volume, and we encourage **your** contributions to the next volume. Our Minnesota-Wisconsin joint venture has been a success so far, and we look forward to its continuation.

Suellen Rundquist	Don Hones
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MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal, Vol. 16, 1999

Expanding our Vision of English Language Learner Education in Minnesota: Implications of State Population Projections [1]

Elaine Tarone
University of Minnesota

This paper considers recent population figures and population projections provided by Minnesota State Planning which suggest that the numbers of English Language Learners (ELLs) in Minnesota public schools are increasing, not just in the Metro area, but throughout the state, and that this is not a temporary problem. In responding to these figures, we need to expand our vision and plan ahead to better meet the needs of all our students. Four suggestions are made: (1) we need clear statewide criteria to identify ELLs: a single standardized test of English language proficiency with a single cut-off score to indicate who needs services, and a statewide computer system to keep accurate records of ELLs throughout the state; (2) programs for ELLs should be viewed as permanent, not temporary, and funding for in-service training and the hiring of well-trained teachers should be provided statewide in a more timely and generous way; (3) pull-out ESL classes may work well for beginning level learners, but programs for advanced proficiency level ELLs who need to pass the Basic Skills Test and achieve at the high standards should teach language through content in classrooms in which a mainstream instructor team-teaches with an ESL/bilingual teacher, with adequate planning time provided for those teachers; and (4) quality adult ESL programs with special focus on workplace literacy should be well funded at all proficiency levels, and teachers with an MA in ESL should be permitted to teach these students in adult ed programs. These suggestions can only be met by a joint effort at both the state level, in initiating and funding programs, and at the local level, in providing in-service education for both mainstream and ESL/bilingual teachers.

Current population figures for the state of Minnesota clearly indicate that the numbers of limited English proficient (LEP) speakers, or English Language Learners (ELLs) in the state are increasing, and will continue to do so for some time (Ronningen & Tarone, 1998). Those figures, which are available on the Minnesota State Planning Center web site **http://www.mnplan.state.mn.us/ demography/index.html**, show that numbers of immigrants coming directly to Minnesota from overseas are gradually increasing. Minnesota Refugee Services estimated the refugee population in the state as of Jan. 1998 to consist of some 76,000 Southeast Asians, 6500 Eastern Europeans, 1100 Africans and 500 Near Easterners/South Asians. Increasingly, languages other than English are spoken in the homes of Minnesota public school children. Minnesota Planning figures suggest that it is not just the Twin Cities which is feeling the impact of these demographic changes; for example, 18% of the students in Watonwan County are of Hispanic origin and almost 7% of the students in Nobles County are of Asian/Pacific Islander origin. Minnesota Planning figures suggest that increases in the numbers of English language learners in Minnesota's schools will continue in the foreseeable future, due primarily to the availability of good entry-level jobs for immigrants throughout the state of Minnesota (Ronningen, 1998).

What do these population figures mean for the education of Minnesota's English language learners in the public schools? In the following pages, I will consider these figures and make four suggestions for planning for the future.

I: Establish clearer statewide guidelines for ELL population counts and language proficiency testing.

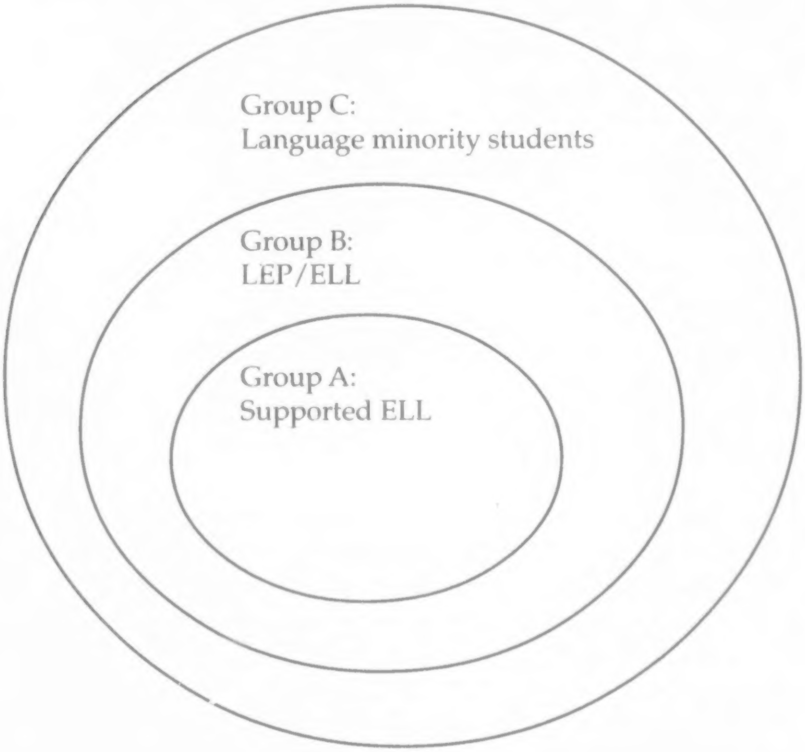
We do not have direct data on the number of Minnesota school children whose native language is not English, and who need English language support. The state demographic data are indirect and do not provide us with the information which we, as English language educators, need.

The indirectness of the demographic data is frustrating for those who need to plan for the education of English language learners. In determining the English language learning needs in the state, we need to establish clearer categories of the population. We have figures on racial minorities in the state, for example, but not all racial minorities are linguistically diverse, or are English language learners. By the same token, not all linguistically diverse students are racial minorities. We need clear statewide guidelines on how to categorize and refer to different types of **language minority** students. **Language minority** students are students whose home language is different from the language of the culture at large and the school language, which is English.[2] Some language minority students need language learning support and some do not. There is no single criterion for who is and is not an **LEP** (Limited English Proficient) student, or an **ELL** (English Language Learner). In fact, the terms

LEP and ELL seem to have been used interchangeably to refer to at least three types of language minority students. I will suggest that we refer to these three groups by different names, and that we imagine them in terms of three concentric circles as in Table One below:

Table One:

Three Types of Language Minority Students



In Table One, the outermost circle (and the largest group) refers to language minority students: students whose native language is not English. These are all students whose home language is different from the school language. Some Group C or language minority students have achieved the proficiency in English they need to do well in school, and some have not.

Those who do not yet have enough proficiency in English to master course content without support are in Group B; they are Limited English

Proficient (LEP) or English Language Learner (ELL) students (The term "Limited English Proficient", while in wide use nationally, contains with the term "limited" the implication that learning ESL is somehow remedial; the term "English Language Learner" contains no such implication, and so is to be preferred). They are eligible for language learning services because their scores on some standardized test fall below some cut-off point. Barbara Ronningen has shown us the best and most recent estimates the state can give us of the size, composition and nature of this group. But we have seen that we do not exactly know the precise figures. A serious complication is that typically each district uses a different standardized language proficiency test to identify students in Group B, and each test may place students differently. Further, whatever the test used, the cut-off points vary as well from one district to another, and from one group to another, so that Hispanic students may be eligible for services when their scores fall below the 40th percentile but other students may be eligible when their scores fall below 1/3 of a standard deviation below the norm. The current system for identifying students in Circle B, those who need services, is thus inequitable, since criteria vary from district to district, and from ethnic group to ethnic group.

Finally, of all the LEP/ELL students in the state who are eligible to receive services, some do and some don't receive assistance, and the nature of the assistance they receive varies widely. Let us put those LEP/ELL students who do receive services into Group A, and call them Supported English Language Learners. The nature of the support they receive may differ a great deal. These students may be in ESL or in bilingual classes, may be placed in classes where mainstream teachers team-teach with ESL resource teachers or bilingual aides, or may receive some other kind of support. The state does not provide guidelines on the sorts of services that might be appropriate to support ELLs at different stages of their development, so districts are left to their own imaginations on this point.

So these three types of language minority students exist, and they are different from other groups we could talk about, e.g., racial minority groups. In all our discussions about educational solutions, it is extremely important for us to keep the three groups of language minority students clearly distinct in our minds. Neither racial minority students, nor students who speak a different language at home and at school, are necessarily students who need language support services. It is very important for us to have a systematic way of identifying those who do need these language support services, and to agree on the nature of the services they need.

An added reason for doing this is the fact that immigrant students are often MOBILE. They do not necessarily stay put in one school district in the state of Minnesota; they seem to move from one school to another, one district to another, and one state to another. ESL teachers in St. Paul say they are seeing an increasing amount of secondary immigration from other states (California is usually cited); these are often students who have been in the country for some time, have fairly good oral skills (and street smarts) in English, but do not necessarily have good school skills. And they tend to keep moving. The implications for us? We need a statewide policy and tracking system to provide these mobile students with a consistent education, at least while they are within the Minnesota state borders. This would not suggest a small educational program, confined only to Ramsey and Hennepin counties, but rather a statewide program. Once we have identified them, then, we need to keep accurate records statewide of those children. Since this is a statewide problem, it will need a statewide solution: a single computer system statewide which can track the data, even when children move from one district to another.

The first recommendation arising from these considerations is, then, this: we need clear statewide guidelines to establish who needs English language support services. That is, we need to know not just who is a language minority student, but who in that group is an English language learner or an LEP student. These guidelines should recommend a single standardized test of English language proficiency, and a single cut-off score on that test to be used consistently to indicate which among all ELLs need specialized language learning support and which do not. A team of teachers and professionals should be formed to examine existing standardized tests and present recommendations. Then, we need a statewide computer system to keep accurate records in a central location of individual children across the state, tracking their progress over time and if necessary, across districts. These data should be kept centrally and should be capable of speedy access by those who are making decisions about the children.

II: Provide a realistic financial increase to state educational institutions to meet the needs of ELLs.

By every uncertain measure we have, it seems clear that we have an unexpectedly large and geometrically increasing number of students in Minnesota schools who are English Language Learners: students who have a less than adequate proficiency in English their second language. This is a statewide phenomenon; neighboring states such as Wisconsin are undoubtedly seeing a similar growth in ELL numbers. The numbers of ELLs we now see in every county are increasing; it is only a matter of time before, for example, Anoka, Clay, Kandiyohi, Olmsted and Washington counties have similar numbers of Asian or Hispanic students to those in Ramsey and Hennepin counties.

What do we know about how long it should take these students to go through the process of second-language acquisition? And what are the statewide implications for program support?

This is the hardest question we have to face. We'd rather not know how long it will take. The answer to this question has serious implications for state planning. We know that the process of second-language acquisition takes time, **when the goal is native-like proficiency**. And that should be our goal: native-like proficiency. In considering this goal, we need to remember that there are two kinds of second-language proficiency: basic oral skills, and cognitive academic language skills (Cummins 1984). When a child is immersed in a second language, the research shows that it takes about two years for that child to attain basic oral skills in a second language; and remember, such students are typically **more** orally proficient than most of us are able to become in two years of foreign language study in high school or college. But the goal of our English language learners is much higher than that of most other American foreign language learners: their goal (and our goal for them) is to attain native-like cognitive academic language skills in the second language. These Minnesotan students want to be able to take standardized tests in English which measure their mastery of reading, math, social studies and science, and they want to score on average at the norm on those tests. Research on second-language acquisition (Collier 1989; Tarone et al 1993) shows that it will take at least seven years of constant supported study and learning for them to reach that goal — and 8 - 10 years for students who are not already literate in their native language.

And it must be stressed that this is the case, even without another factor which the demographics do not show: we now want all these students to pass not only a statewide Basic Skills Test but to achieve the high standards in the state's Profile of Learning as well. Our recent addition of the Basic Skills Test and the Profile of Learning to this mix simply underlines the already-existing need of our English Language Learner group for good cognitive academic language skills. If our goal is for this large and increasing number of English language learners to start scoring at the norm on our standardized measures of academic achievement, then we need to realize that each one of them will need **advanced** level language support services for at least seven years, and sometimes more, to enable them to pass the Basic Skills Test and begin achieving at the level of the high standards on the Profile of Learning.

The factors we have considered here do not suggest that we need a **temporary** program. If we only had to educate the students currently on our demographic graphs, we would have maybe a seven-to nine-year program; but the curve is exponentially increasing in size every year. More and more ELL students are entering the state and each new cohort needs this 7-9 year support. We are looking at a need for a statewide and (for the foreseeable future) a permanent program which can provide language support for English language learners who are simultaneously learning both a second language and new content at challenging standards.

At the administrative level — probably at the highest administrative level — these numbers suggest that financial planning should be done in such a way that adequate funds are provided in a more timely way to hire trained teachers to teach English language learners at all proficiency levels in all districts. The current system in Minnesota of asking districts to hire language learning specialists at the last minute (waiting till counts have been made of ELL students in each building) and be reimbursed later (sometimes much later) for those hires, does not appear to this observer to be productive given the dimensions of the problem. The retroactive reimbursement approach for such large numbers of students would seem to encourage minimalist, band-aid, year-by-year patchwork hires rather than the coherent, substantive, long-range programmatic solutions our state deserves.[3]

In sum, my second recommendation is: we need to end our denial about the scope of this problem and plan ahead. English language learners are numerous and increasing in numbers across the state, and will not disappear from our mainstream classes for the foreseeable future. We need to alert **all** school personnel — staff, mainstream teachers and specialist teachers — to the extent and nature of this population of learners. Funding for in-service training and the hiring of well-trained teachers to work with these students should be provided statewide in a more timely and generous way to encourage the effective development and delivery of substantive programs of instruction.

III: Establish state guidelines on the sorts of services which should best support English Language Learners and the duration of those services.

The scope of the problem as outlined above suggests that we may need different guidelines on the sort of program we should be offering English language learners. In Ramsey and Hennepin counties now, English language learners are hardly even "special" any more ... they are part of the typical profile of the typical mainstream class. It seems clear that when this is the case, mainstream curriculum and mainstream teacher training must be changed to meet the changed needs of this linguistically diverse student population. When every mainstream class has English language learners in it, then every mainstream teacher needs to change the way s/he teaches — **not** to "water down the curriculum", but to make it possible for **all** students to achieve at the high standards we have collectively set for **all** our children. This will take more time and more resources than teachers are currently given.

What sort of program model makes sense? Clearly, where numbers warrant it, lower-proficiency-level ELLs seem to benefit from separate ESL classes and substantial support from bilingual aides. However, when we are talking about teaching advanced level second-language skills and content simultaneously, it seems to me that the educational model which makes the most sense is one in which advanced-level English language learners are placed in mainstream classes whose well-trained teachers work closely with ESL and bilingual resource teachers to teach language and content in an integrated fashion (e.g. Short, 1991; Mohan 1986). This team of teachers plans the curriculum together, maps out challenging content to be learned by everyone, and the second-language teacher provides the sort of English language instruction which needs to be provided to enable the ELLs in the class to master that content.

Please let me be clear: I am **not** talking about just mainstreaming children without language support, in the style of the Unz Initiative. Schools need to **add** teachers to the staff: ESL and bilingual specialists to work with mainstream teachers to develop a curriculum and teaching approach which can provide **real** language support to ELLs in content classes.

Part of this model suggests that we need to restructure what ESL/bilingual teachers do: they need to focus on much more advanced-level language instruction, learn more about teaching students the language, learning strategies and study skills they will need to help students master content through a second language (Adamson, 1993), and (perhaps most crucially) become a more central part of the decision-making process with regard to the assessment and teaching of English Language Learners. Too often, we are learning, ESL teachers and even parents seem to have little voice in the decisions being made about ELLs with regard to, for example, Basic Skills Testing and the design of educational programs for those who cannot pass the Basic Skills Test. Those decisions should be made by personnel who are trained to make them, and by those who know the children best. Finally, students need to receive this sort of support much longer than we currently believe; clear guidelines should be set to establish when ELLs are ready to cope with mainstream education on their own, without English language support.

This team-teaching approach seems logical in districts where there are large percentages of English Language Learners, but can it work in small districts which have tiny percentages of ELLs? I was interested to read in the latest *MinneTESOL Newsletter* (1998) an ESL teacher's recommendation for the same team-teaching approach to be used in her outstate district where there are proportionately very small numbers of English Language Learners. In this teacher's opinion, districts whose percentages of ELLs are so small that special ESL classes don't make sense, should also use a "team-teaching in the mainstream" approach.

Two factors are important to remember about setting up this sort of team-teaching approach. (1) It doesn't work well when it is mandated from above. Rather it works when trained teachers who really want to work together are provided some incentives for doing so. And, (2) teachers should be given planning time to enable them to implement this approach effectively (state- and district-level grants might help here).

The third recommendation therefore is: we need state guidelines on the sorts of services which should best support English Language Learners and how long they should be provided. Those guidelines should state that while pull-out ESL classes may work well for beginning level learners, programs for advanced proficiency level English Language Learners who need to pass the Basic Skills Test and achieve at the high standards should involve placing more advanced learners into classrooms in which the mainstream instructor team-teaches with an ESL/bilingual teacher. Districts should encourage this sort of collaboration by providing planning time for interested teachers. When ELLs arrive in the state in their mid- to late-teens, they should be placed in programs such as the LEAP[4] program in St. Paul, which has an impressive success rate. In general, ESL/bilingual teachers need to restructure what they do: helping to plan and design an effective learning program, and providing the language and learning strategy instruction that English Language Learning students need to keep up with their challenging content learning. In all cases, ESL/bilingual teachers should be fully involved in making these assessment and educational decisions about English Language Learner students. These recommendations for restructured ESL/bilingual support may imply changes in the licensure requirements for secondary-level ESL/bilingual teachers in particular.

IV: Provide support for adult English language learners in adult education programs throughout the state.

The numbers of ELL children in our schools are, in some ways, just the tip of the iceberg. The ELL children in Minnesota schools do not live alone; they have families. We have to realize that high ELL numbers in the schools must also reflect a corresponding high number of adults who are also English language learners — not just parents, but unattached relatives and friends as well, many of whom have moved to Minnesota for the good employment opportunities offered here. In the state of Minnesota during 1997-98, out of 48,000 students served by Adult Basic Education programs, 15,000 (or one out of three) were English Language Learner adults. Northrop Community Center in Olmsted County provides these figures: in September 1997, 1362 LEP students enrolled in Rochester public schools. During that same academic year, 869 adults enrolled in English as a Second Language classes, of whom 42% were Asian, 26% were Black (mostly Somali), 17% were Hispanic and 15% were European (mostly former Yugoslavia and former USSR). While we plan to educate ELL children in our public schools, we should also plan for ongoing funding for adult ESL at all proficiency levels, from pre-literacy to college prep, with special focus on workplace literacy. We need better programs in adult ESL, staffed by teachers who are trained to teach ESL to adults (which in this state, are teachers with an MA in ESL). The state of Minnesota is presently re-evaluating who is most qualified to teach adult ESL. At the time of this writing, the state requires only a K-12 license and no ESL training for instructors in adult education. Individuals holding MA degrees in ESL, specifically trained to teach adult ESL, cannot teach in Minnesota adult education programs at this time because they do not hold a license to teach children. This must change. Adult Education licensure guidelines should be set up to ease the way of teachers who have an MA in ESL into adult education classrooms.

The fourth recommendation, then, is: plan for ongoing funding for quality adult ESL programs at all proficiency levels, from pre-literacy to college prep, with special focus on workplace literacy, and hire individuals for those programs who are trained to teach adult ESL. Indeed, there are positive efforts within the Department of Children, Families and Learning to develop procedures to enable holders of the MA in ESL to teach ELL adults in adult education programs while working toward state licensure; these efforts are to be heartily commended and strongly supported.[5]

V. Implementing the recommendations.

The recommendations just provided are ambitious. But they do lay out what needs to happen in the Minnesota schools to deal with the population changes we are experiencing if we are to maintain the high quality of education of which we are so proud in this state. How can we move toward implementing these recommendations in concrete ways? I would like to offer a couple of suggestions.

First, I have proposed that state guidelines should be set specifying consistent criteria for identifying English Language Learners (LEP students), and specifying the sorts of educational programs which should be set up for those learners. These guidelines should be proposed to the relevant State agencies: to governors, legislators and commissioners in State offices. Such individuals have a clear and important agenda set before them. We can write and phone those individuals with our support, and, where things are not clear, with suggestions.

But there are also measures which all of us can also take in our own local situations to move the state in the right direction. For example, we can learn and train ourselves to deal with this new and changing situation. There are excellent sessions offered at professional conferences throughout the year on teaching content through a second language and teaching to the Minnesota standards. There are classes being offered at local universities like the University of Minnesota and Hamline University, for example, for both mainstream and ESL/bilingual teachers on the teaching of content through a second language. There are good models of good programs in our state that we can visit to learn how to deal with these students; the LEAP program in St. Paul is one such program that I would recommend that you visit. In addition, we can seek grant funding to undertake curricular change.

These recommendations lay out an ambitious road map for us; they expand our vision for what is possible in the state of Minnesota. We may not be able to implement all of these recommendations as fully as we might like. But we need consensus on where we are going. And we need to seek assistance from the state, both in setting state guidelines and in financing the programs we will need to adequately deal with the changing Minnesota population in our schools and communities.

NOTES

1. This paper was presented at the statewide LEP Conference in Minneapolis on May 8, 1998, together with a presentation on population figures by state demographer Barbara Ronningen. The current paper summarizes and refers to figures originally presented by Ms. Ronningen. These figures are available on the Minnesota Planning State Demographic Center Internet web site:
http://www.mnplan.state.mn.us/demography/index.html

I am grateful to Mary Ann Saurino in the Minnesota State Department of Children, Families & Learning for organizing this plenary session.

2. Of course, in language immersion schools the school language is not English, but rather Spanish or French, but this is a special case. There are very few of these schools in the state and typically the students in them are native speakers of the majority language, English, not immigrants.

3. Some might even argue that our society would prefer not to educate immigrants so as to have a continuing supply of low-wage earners as fuel for the economy. The current retroactive, band-aid approach to L2

instruction for immigrant students would certainly seem to be one which reinforces the status quo and does nothing to move immigrants out of their position at the bottom of the economic ladder.

4. LEAP (the Limited English Achievement Program), located in downtown St. Paul, is a high school serving only those local students who are English Language Learners aged 16 years or older. These recently immigrated students are provided with integrated ESL and content instruction in an intensive but supportive environment. LEAP, recently selected as one of 20 schools in the country to be sponsored by an NEH New Millennium grant, has produced phenomenally high graduation rates. For information about this program, contact LEAP at (651) 228-7706 and ask for Jeff Dufresne or Sandra Hall.

5. At the time of this writing (late February 1999), there are several legislative initiatives in motion to rectify this situation. The proposed Minnesota Governor's Education Bill contains a section which would permit holders of degrees in ESL, applied linguistics, bilingual education, or any other relevant major approved by the Commissioner of Education, to teach ESL in Adult Basic Education programs without a K-12 license. An almost identical bill has been sponsored by Rep. Alice Hausman (St. Paul) as well, and a less rigorous bill offered by Sen. Kiscaden (Rochester). These initiatives, permitting professionals who are trained to teach ESL to adults to do so in ABE programs, are welcome.

THE AUTHOR

Elaine Tarone is a Professor of English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota, and current Director of the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition at the University. She has published extensively on second-language acquisition, and is currently exploring ways to bring the University's resources to bear on ESL needs of immigrants in the Upper Midwest.

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Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of the Advantages and Disadvantages of Teaching ESL Students

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Most of the ESL literature has focused on ESL students working with ESL teachers. The present study is concerned, instead, with mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students. A survey of 143 mainstream teachers was conducted in the middle/junior high schools of a moderate-sized Great Plains community, and teachers were asked to identify any advantages and/or disadvantages they felt were associated with having ESL students in their regular, content-area classrooms. Most respondents to the survey answered this open-ended question and listed roughly the same number of advantages and disadvantages. However, the distributions of listed advantages and disadvantages across issues associated with impact of ESL students on the class, on the teacher, and the impact of the class on the ESL student were quite distinct.

An extensive body of literature exists on how to teach ESL students (Arias & Casanova, 1993; Banks & Banks, 1995; Benesch, 1991; Crawford, 1993; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Krashen, 1988; Richards & Lockhart, 1994; Silberstein, 1993). This literature generally focuses on ESL teachers teaching ESL students in ESL classrooms. However, ESL students will spend much of their time, not with ESL teachers, but with mainstream teachers (Clair, 1993, 1995; Young, 1996). To better understand the ESL student's entire schooling experience, it is important to understand the mainstream component of students' experience, as well. The goal of the present study is to examine mainstream teachers' views on the advantages and disadvantages of working with ESL students. Hopefully, this will encourage a discussion of how the professional ESL community can best understand the views of mainstream teachers and in turn, best support ESL students in mainstream classes.

The structure, focus, and stresses of the mainstream classroom are significantly different from the ESL classroom (Markham, Green, & Ross, 1996). Presumably, ESL teachers are already positively inclined toward working with ESL students. According to Markham et al. (1996), ESL teachers' focus is on this task, and their primary source of stress is preparing the ESL student to move into regular, content area classrooms. In contrast, mainstream teachers' task is centered more on teaching content and their primary source of stress is the management of large classes. These classes are likely to fit the traditional, teacher-centered model that is of questionable value for any student, but especially problematic for the ESL student facing a multitude of adjustment demands beyond the daunting task of learning the assigned content (Constantino, 1994: Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997).

It is in this context of a misfit between the focus of the mainstream teacher and the needs of the ESL student, that it becomes critical to understand how the mainstream teacher perceives the ESL student. However, there is surprisingly little empirical research on the mainstream teacher (Clair, 1993, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Edstam, 1998; Harklau, 1994; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Markham et al. 1996; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997). The studies that do exist suggest that few mainstream teachers have training in ESL pedagogy (Clair, 1993, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Wong Fillmore, & Meyer, 1992; Young, 1996); that mainstream teachers are not positively disposed to obtaining ESL training, at least through the traditional, in-service training workshop format (Clair, 1993, 1995); that mainstream and ESL teachers differ in the stresses they experience (Markham et al., 1996); and that mainstream classrooms present ESL students with both new opportunities and new obstacles (Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997).

In addition, very few studies have focused specifically on mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students (Byrnes, Kiger, & Manning, 1997; Clair, 1993; Penfield, 1987). Clair (1993) conducted intensive interviews of three mainstream teachers, two grade school and one high school teacher, and examined their beliefs about ESL students. Although short on participants, Clair's study is rich in qualitative detail. These teachers appeared to know relatively little about their ESL students' backgrounds; they appreciated the role of macro-level factors in the success of ESL students but focused mostly on individual issues; they tended to expect less of their ESL students; their knowledge of students' cultural background often was based on hearsay; and they were not fully familiar with the ESL programs in their schools. These teachers expressed frustration over time constraints and curricular constraints in responding to ESL students and generally engaged in little modification of their instructional practices.

Byrnes et al. (1997) surveyed 191 regular classroom teachers across three states and administered a scale measuring their attitudes toward

ESL students. The overall scale response appeared to be neutral, but scores were significantly more positive for teachers who had worked with language-minority children, completed a graduate degree, had formal training in working with non-English speaking students, and lived in Arizona versus either Utah or Virginia. This study is rich in the number of participants, and provides important insight into those factors that affect mainstream teachers' perceptions, but it provides little information on the detail and structure of participants' perceptions.

Finally, Penfield (1987) administered a short questionnaire with roughly twenty open-ended questions to 162 New Jersey mainstream teachers attending various in-service workshops. Penfield's study is rich in both the number of participants and in the qualitative detail provided about mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students. The results suggest that mainstream teachers were frustrated over their inability to communicate with ESL students and parents. They viewed ESL students as easier to teach in some subject areas than others (e.g., math vs. language arts), as easier to discipline, and as cooperative but too passive. Penfield's teachers also expressed concern that ESL students take time away from the class, but that ESL students bring a multicultural perspective to the class and model highly motivated and cooperative behavior. Finally, these mainstream teachers appeared to have little knowledge of how to integrate content and second language learning, but they did indicate some interest in training.

These three studies suggest that mainstream teachers see some benefits to teaching ESL students in regular, content area classrooms, but these teachers also have a number of serious reservations, have little knowledge of ESL students, and have little training in ESL pedagogy. The net result, according to Constantino (1994), is for mainstream teachers to engage in a pattern of disabling interaction with ESL students that includes low expectations for their ESL students, a willingness to blame the student for poor performance, and a failure to take into account the role that culture plays in the performance of ESL students.

Thus, it is critical to better understand the mainstream teacher's views of the ESL student. Rather than focusing on what mainstream teachers should or should not feel about teaching ESL students, the present study wishes to follow in the footsteps of Penfield (1987) and Clair (1993) and ask mainstream teachers to express their feelings. Similar to Penfield, we provided a substantial number of mainstream teachers with the opportunity to make comments in response to an open-ended question on a self-administered questionnaire. We specifically asked teachers to identify separately any advantages or disadvantages they saw in teaching ESL students in regular, content-area classrooms, and then we classified the responses to assess the relative focus of teachers' comments on the classroom, the mainstream teacher, and the ESL student. This effort provided more insight than offered by past research into the internal structure of mainstream teachers' perceptions of working with ESL students in regular, content area classrooms.

METHODS

We distributed our survey to all teachers (N = 224) in the three middle/junior high schools that make up a Great Plains community of approximately 80,000. Each school has close to 1,000 students. The survey was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the second author's university, by the school district's assistant superintendent, and by the principals of each of the three schools. The second author introduced the survey to teachers during the fall orientation sessions for the 1996-97 academic year.

The questionnaires were distributed to teachers' mailboxes, followed two weeks later by a reminder letter, and two weeks later, again, by another copy of the survey to teachers who had not yet responded. This generated a response rate of 78 percent (N = 174). The survey asked teachers to indicate the nature of their teaching assignment, and 143 teachers reported teaching regular, content-area classrooms (e.g., classes in the humanities, social sciences, natural and physical sciences, and applied disciplines). These are the teachers whose responses were analyzed for the present study.

The survey included questions assessing teachers' general teaching experience, the amount and nature of their experience with ESL students, and teachers' demographic characteristics. The central question for the present study was an open-ended query about their perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of teaching ESL students. Specifically, the question asked, "Please provide any general comments you would like to make about the advantages and/or disadvantages you perceive in teaching ESL students." Following the question were two, underlined headings, Advantages and Disadvantages, with space underneath each heading for teachers to respond. Providing separate prompts for advantages and disadvantages was designed to maximize the likelihood that teachers would report both aspects of their teaching experiences with ESL students.

RESULTS

Respondents' backgrounds and teaching experiences were diverse. There were relatively balanced distributions of teachers by gender (53%, female, and 47%, male), by age (21 - 30, 21%; 31 - 40, 27%; 41 - 50, 30%; 51 - 60, 20%; and 61 and older, 2%), and by grade level (6th grade, 21%; 7th grade, 39%; 8th grade, 34%; and 9th grade, 43%—some taught more than one grade level). Teachers represented a variety of subject areas as well (humanities, 35%; social sciences, 13%; natural and physical sciences, 24%, and applied disciplines, 28%). The typical teacher in the survey had taught 15.5 years, currently had 2.3 ESL students across all of their classes combined, and had taught a total of 8.8 ESL students during the preceding 5 years. Only 6 percent had not taught any ESL students during this time period (i.e., the current year plus the 5 prior years). When teachers were asked to identify the regions of the world represented by the ESL students they had taught, they typically marked 3.2 regions from a list of 12 including 10 regions we supplied and two additional regions we generated from responses to our "Other" category (Central America including Mexico; South America; Southeast Asia; Asia including China, Japan, and Korea, Indian subcontinent including India and Nepal; Africa; Western Europe; Eastern Europe; countries formerly part of USSR; Middle East; the Caribbean including Haiti, Cuba, and Jamaica; and Native Americans). Thus, the mainstream teachers in our Great Plains community had taught a modest number of ESL students from a variety of different parts of the world.

The number of survey respondents who answer open-ended questions is often discouraging, but our question about advantages and disadvantages apparently generated considerable interest. A total of 93 teachers (65%) listed at least one advantage and the same number listed at least one disadvantage. Some listed more than one advantage or disadvantage, and each listing was counted separately. The two totals were very similar (109 advantages vs. 118 disadvantages) suggesting some degree of balance in teachers' perceptions of the pros and cons of teaching ESL students as part of a mainstream class.

We classified the itemized advantages and disadvantages into four categories primarily based on the key players in the mainstream classroom, the class, the teacher, the ESL student, and miscellaneous comments. While the total advantages and disadvantages were similar, their distribution across these four categories differed substantially (Table 1). Teachers were twice as likely to mention the class when discussing advantages (57% of all listed advantages) as they were when discussing disadvantages (25% of all listed disadvantages). In contrast, teachers were roughly four times more likely to focus on the ESL student when discussing disadvantages (45%) as they were when discussing advantages (12%). Teachers were equally likely to focus on themselves when discussing either advantages (29%) or disadvantages (29%). Finally, very few comments fell into the miscellaneous category for either advantages (3%) or disadvantages (2%). In sum, the class is most salient to teachers when spontaneously discussing advantages, and concern for the ESL student is most salient when teachers discuss disadvantages.

To get a better sense of the comments associated with each of the three major categories (class, teacher, and ESL student), we coded comments into topical subgroups. The identified subgroups, examples of comments falling into each, and the frequency of comments in each subgroup are shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4 for the class, the teacher, and the ESL student, respectively. Using these topical subgroups as a guide, the analysis to follow will examine both the nature and the variety of teachers' comments within and across categories.

Table 1

Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages by Category

	Advantages		Disadvantages	
Category	%	(n)	%	(n)
Class	57	(62)	25	(29)
Teacher	29	(32)	29	(34)
ESL Students	11	(12)	45	(53)
Miscellaneous	3	(3)	2	(2)
Total	100%	(109)	101%	(118)

We will begin by looking at the nature of the most frequently mentioned advantages and disadvantages. Within the class category (Table 2), teachers were most likely to mention as an advantage, the role of ESL students in triggering cultural awareness, and to mention as a disadvantage, their concern that ESL students bring emotional difficulties that are hard for other students to appreciate. Within the teacher category (Table 3), the most often mentioned advantage was the observation that ESL students are easy to teach, and the most often mentioned disadvantage was the negative impact that the extra work associated with teaching ESL students has on the teacher's time for self. Within the ESL student category (Table 4), the most frequently noted advantage was the observation that ESL students can learn from mainstream students, and the most frequently noted disadvantage was the perceived inadequate preparation of ESL students in English. Thus, as teachers consider the presence of ESL students in the mainstream classroom, they see a variety of distinct advantages and disadvantages for each party—class, teacher, and ESL student. Finally, the advantage most often mentioned, overall, focused on the class (Table 2), "ESL students trigger cultural awareness," and the concern most often mentioned, overall, focused on the ESL student (Table 4), "ESL students are not well enough prepared in English."

However, the variety of advantages and disadvantages identified by teachers differs substantially. Overall, teachers mentioned far fewer distinct advantages than disadvantages. Seven topical subgroups emerged among the listed advantages, and 15 subgroups emerged among the listed disadvantages. While the absolute value of each of these numbers (i.e., 7 and 15) is certainly a product of our particular coding scheme, the relative difference in these numbers suggests that teachers, as a group, have a much more differentiated schema of disadvantages than they do of advantages.

Table 2

Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages for Class

Issue	Example	n
	Advantages	
a.) ESL students trigger cultural awareness.	"They bring great new perspectives...might help ease some prejudices."	32
b.) ESL students serve as class resource.	"ESL students have much to offer....Also, first-hand accounts are...interesting."	27
c.) ESL students create new student partnership opportunities.	"This is a wonderful opportunity for students to be helpful..."	3
Total		62
	Disadvantages	
a.) ESL students bring emotional difficulties that are hard for other students to appreciate.	"Because of [past] bad experiences...they have a chip on their shoulder..." "When I slow my class presentations down a bit... [ESL] students feel...they are causing this..."	14
b.) ESL students require special attention that diverts attention from other students.	"It's hard to spend enough time with them [ESL]...especially when you have twenty some other students..."	12
c.) ESL students bring sometimes terrifying experiences to class that other students find hard to absorb.	"Sometimes, their past experiences have had horrifying effects on them [ESL] and our kids...just can not understand."	3
Total		29

Teachers also differed considerably in the number of distinct advantages and disadvantages that they mentioned from category-to-category. For example, we coded one more distinct subgroup of advantages within the class category (3) than within either the teacher (2) or the ESL student (2) categories (Tables 2, 3, 4). Thus, both the greatest quantity (Table 1) and the greatest variety of spontaneously mentioned advantages fell in the class category.

Table 3

Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages for the Teacher

Issue	Example	n
	Advantages	
a.) ESL students are good students to teach.	"They are highly motivated..."	27
b.) Presence of ESL students improves teaching.	"My teaching is better... I should avoid slang..."	5
Total		32
	Disadvantages	
a.) The extra work reduces teachers' time for self.	"ESL students take a lot of extra time....They add to the 'special needs' population..."	9
b.) Must modify materials for ESL students.	"Modifications have to be made...very difficult when 130 students..."	6
c.) It's difficult to teach ESL students because appropriate standards are unclear.	"When I realized that my primary goal was to help with teaching the language and socialization, the pressure of content learning diminished."	5
d.) Appropriate placement of ESL students into mainstream is often a problem.	"Many ESL students are placed...where they have little chance of success..."	3

e.) Demands of teaching ESL students creates frustration.	"I feel at a loss as to whether they get much out of my class."	3
f.) There is not a lot of collaboration with ESL teachers.	"[There is not enough] communication with the ESL teacher so that we are working together to make the student successful."	3
g.) There is not enough collaboration with other sources of support.	"Sometimes parent contact is difficult..." "We have no teacher aide help."	3
h.) Mainstream teachers do not have training in ESL.	"I have not had any training for ESL students."	2
Total		34

In contrast, teachers identified many more distinct subgroups of disadvantages in the teacher category (8) than they did in either the ESL student (4) or the class (3) categories (Tables 2, 3, 4). While the greatest quantity of concern focused on the ESL student (Table 1), the greatest variety of concern emerged in the teacher category. In sum, when teachers considered the advantages of having ESL students in the mainstream classroom, they talked about the benefits to the class; when teachers considered the disadvantages, they talked with considerable frequency about the ESL student and with considerable detail about the teachers, themselves.

Table 4

Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages for the ESL Student

Issue	Example	n
	Advantages	
a.) ESL students can learn from mainstream students.	"The ESL student has a chance to learn the English language and to relate to other students."	8
b.) Success of ESL student is unique to class content.	"Because my area is a hands-on learning environment, it is easier for these [ESL] students."	4
Total		12
	Disadvantages	
a.) ESL students are not well enough prepared in English.	"Without sufficient English...students have a difficult time participating... completing work, and communicating with others."	32
b.) Teachers do not have enough time to help ESL students adequately.	"They [ESL students] are usually in low ability math classes because of the language and the [native] English speaking students in here are very low achievers and have many discipline problems—there is not enough time to spend with the ESL students that generally want to do well."	10

c.) ESL students do not have enough preparation in content areas.	"I also find that most ESL students have low skills. I never know if the language is the main reason or just that they have very little background knowledge."	8
d.) ESL students are too quiet to get the help they need.	"They do not ask questions— (I just learned that it is disrespectful to ask questions)."	3
Total		53

DISCUSSION

The results suggest that mainstream teachers in a moderate-sized Great Plains community who have two or three ESL students per year feel that they have had enough experience to formulate a written reaction. Nearly two-thirds of the surveyed teachers took time to complete an open-ended question and to identify what they perceived to be the advantages and disadvantages associated with the presence of ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms. These results, combined with the high response rate to the survey itself, indicate that mainstream teachers have considerable interest in this issue.

In addition, virtually every respondent to the question listed at least one advantage and at least one disadvantage. We did specifically ask for both, but it is nevertheless conceivable that teachers might have been either so positive or so negative about the presence of ESL students in mainstream classrooms that the distribution of comments could have been significantly skewed. Thus, teachers' perceptions of ESL students are mixed with an overall balance of perceived advantages and disadvantages.

These findings provide an important framework within which the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher can collaborate. Both ESL and mainstream teachers desire collaboration (Edstam, 1998), but this is unlikely to happen without some effort. These two roles have different foci (Markham et al., 1996); teachers come to these roles with different types of training (Clair, 1993, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Wong Fillmore, & Meyer, 1992; Young, 1996); and system support for these roles often differs substantially (Cummins, 1997; Harklau, 1994).

In this context, the ESL teacher—the teacher who is on the outside looking in (Markham et al., 1996)—may find it reassuring to know that mainstream teachers can readily identify a fairly balanced list of advantages and disadvantages. The list of perceived advantages may be of particular value to the ESL teacher trying to establish cooperative relationships with mainstream teachers. Of special note is the preponderance of listed advantages that focus on ESL students' positive impact on the class. Course content is the central concern of mainstream teachers (Markham et al., 1996), so emphasizing and enhancing ESL students' potential role in enriching the mainstream course and in expanding the cultural awareness of mainstream students should serve as a solid basis for ESL/mainstream teacher collaboration.

However, ESL teachers also need to know that the overall balance of listed pros and cons contrasts with the unbalanced pattern of pros and cons from category to category. The list of advantages focuses on the class while the list of disadvantages emphasizes the ESL student and the teacher. Addressing the perceived disadvantages is where the hard work of collaboration is likely to occur.

For example, the greatest number of listed disadvantages focused on the ESL student. Most of these comments suggest that mainstream teachers believe ESL students lack sufficient preparation for effective learning in a mainstream classroom. Many ESL teachers are likely to share this concern (Markham et al., 1996), although many also might argue that mainstream teachers need to better appreciate just how important a mainstream class is to ESL students' language development (Constantino, 1994: Penfield, 187). Clearly, the issue of ESL student preparation is very salient to mainstream teachers, and it is an issue that must be directly addressed as part of any program of ESL/mainstream teacher collaboration.

In addition, the greatest variety of listed disadvantages emerged in the teacher category. The list reflects general frustration (e.g., reduced time for self, uncertainty about what ESL students are learning) and specific pedagogical concerns (e.g., test modification, unclear goals and standards). These concerns might be alleviated, in part, by more training in ESL pedagogy. ESL teachers could be a source of such training (Edstam, 1998), at least informally, by taking advantage of "teachable moments" during ESL/mainstream teacher collaboration. Indeed, mainstream teachers' frequent expressions of concern about inadequate collaboration suggests that mainstream teachers might appreciate such focused guidance.

Overall, these results provide a road map for the ESL teacher working with mainstream teachers. Mainstream teachers believe that ESL students trigger cultural awareness, are good students to teach, and can learn from mainstream students. In contrast, mainstream teachers also believe that ESL students bring unique emotional and personal experiences to class that are difficult for mainstream students to appreciate, that they create extra work for frustrated teachers, and that ESL students are not well enough prepared to learn effectively in the mainstream classroom. ESL teachers wishing to establish close, collaborative relationships with mainstream teachers may wish to build on these perceived advantages and to explicitly address these perceived disadvantages.

NOTE

This study reports one aspect of a multi-part, research design conducted by the second author as part of her current work on her doctoral dissertation. The results were presented by the second author at the Midwest TESOL Conference, Milwaukee, WI, October, 1997.

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NOSTALGIA

My people's roots lie deep in the rich
Fertile soil of Laotian hills
Where I spent my teenage life
Happiness stood still.
Unfortunately, the war counteracted our hopes
We scattered all over the world
We bore a new code
And learned new words.
Life was tough and horrible
In the new strange country
We haven't had the industrial work skills and
  experiences
My mind rests with my country.
Someday I may return
To build and make it a safer and better place to
  live
Everything will be safe from war burned
Hopes and dreams would be achieved.

Jer
Century College

Recruiting Minority Teachers from within Local School Districts: The Lakeland College Urban Teachers Outreach Program

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In a cooperative endeavor with the Sheboygan Area School District and Lakeland College, a small group of Southeast Asian and Hispanic para professionals are earning college diplomas and teacher certification in Wisconsin. This article shares how the program was developed and initiated. It then discusses the students' backgrounds, their sources of support for continuing in the program, and problems they have encountered in the program. This article concludes with a discussion of implications for the development of similar programs.

Sheboygan, Wisconsin is a community of approximately 50,000 residents and lies midway between Milwaukee and Green Bay on the Lake Michigan shoreline. This community is served by the Sheboygan Area School District which enrolls approximately 10,000 students EC-12. Approximately 12 percent of the student enrollment is minority (predominately Southeast Asian and Hispanic), yet less than one percent of the teaching staff is representative of these communities. In order to increase the number of certified minority teachers in the local schools, the Sheboygan Area School District and Lakeland College entered a joint endeavor called the Urban Teachers Outreach Program (UTOP).

THE BACKGROUND

As an elementary school principal in Sheboygan, I was bothered by this discrepancy and by the lack of minority teacher role models in our community. Even our ESL and Bilingual classes were taught primarily by language-majority teachers. I was interested in developing the talents of those individuals within our own community. The literature showed that school districts could do this by training the paraprofessionals who already were working within the schools (Education Commission of the States, 1990; McKay & Gezi, 1990; Ramirez & Tippeconnic III, 1979). So, I informally talked to numerous minority paraprofessionals in the Sheboygan Area School District and asked them if they would be interested in earning a college degree and becoming regular education teachers and ESL teachers. Their desire was overwhelming. With their support I approached the President of Lakeland College. We then met with Dr. Mehraban Khodavandi, Dean of the Graduate School at Lakeland College, and together we outlined a course of action that included, among other items: a timeline, key personnel, financial issues, and curriculum issues. (Dr. Khodavandi became critical to the success of this program as he became the primary individual responsible for the program development and initial implementation.)

We decided that we would survey minority paraprofessionals in the Sheboygan Area School District in order to determine actually how many would be interested in such a program. The program would be designed as a cohort. In other words, the students would all take their courses together, without students from outside the program, and would then move through the program together. We knew the Pre-Professional Skills Test (PPST) could well be a difficulty for many of the students, as the literature strongly states that many minorities score poorly on standardized competency tests (Daughtry, 1989; Foster, 1989; Garibaldi, 1989; and Zapata, 1988). This problem could only be more difficult for those students who are language-minority. Thus we agreed to offer Reading, Writing, and Math courses for those students who would need extra assistance in these areas. This would be identified through the fall entrance tests that Lakeland requires of all its freshmen students. If all went well, the students would take two night courses each semester and two or three courses each semester. This would allow them to graduate and be certified in seven years. While it might seem very long, the time frame was necessary because these students worked full-time day jobs.

With the support of the local school districts, it was agreed that Lakeland College would be responsible for teaching all the courses and would commit to handle all financing issues. Financial assistance is also crucial to low-income students (Carnegie Task Force, 1986; Haberman, 1989; and the Holmes Group cited in Jones, 1987). Therefore, Lakeland College would use Pell Grants and their own financial resources to pay 100% of the students' tuition. The students would need to pay for books and supplies. The school districts agreed to host all the student teachers and to guarantee interviews for each UTOP graduate.

The UTOP program then began with classes in the summer of 1994. The first three courses offered were college-level Reading, Writing, and Math for the students who required more assistance in those areas (as identified in the entrance tests) and for those students who felt they wanted more help in order to be best prepared for college.

THE STUDENTS

Twenty-eight students were originally enrolled. Four of the students were American-born Hispanic with the remainder born in Southeast Asia (Laos and Cambodia). About two-thirds of the students were teacher aides or secretaries in the local school district, while the other students worked as laborers or in lower management positions in the private sector. Several couples enrolled in the program together. All of the students had completed high school and some had college or technical school credits or degrees. Most of the students spoke English quite well, but many of the Southeast Asian students were not as fluent as they would like in terms of their reading and writing. Many of these same students predominately spoke Hmong at home.

THE FIRST YEARS

There was a great deal of enthusiasm from all parties when the program got under way. At least twenty-five students enrolled in the introductory Reading, Writing, and Math courses. They worked extremely hard and took a great deal of pride in their work. However, a couple of concerns soon began to arise. About half of the students had more difficulty with writing than we expected. It became apparent that they would need additional writing support as the program continued if they were to be successful.

The other concern related to the other half of the students. They were very fluent with the English language and were very successful. They could progress through the program more quickly than their peers and were thus being slowed down. The idea of the cohort seemed to be a problem. Related to this issue was the fact that administrative repositioning at the college meant that a new administrator would be in charge of the UTOP. In fact, over the next couple of years four different administrators led the program as their responsibilities were being reformed. This took the sense of security away from the students as they had not developed a trusting relationship with any particular administrator, other than Dr. Khodavandi. But the biggest change was the fact that the cohort group was dismantled. In order for the more fluent students to be able to proceed through the program quickly, they would have to take more classes and with other students in the Lifelong Learning Program. Besides graduating sooner, this would also allow the students to be able to choose more than one academic minor. This would in turn allow the other UTOP students the opportunity to take fewer courses and focus on improving their English literacy. However, it also meant more isolation for all the UTOP students.

Over the first three years a few students became frustrated and dropped out. One exceptionally gifted student got married and moved to Western Wisconsin where she enrolled in a teacher preparation program. A few other students liked college and the program, but felt that they would never be able to pass the PPST. As a result, they changed majors and enrolled in other programs on campus. This left the UTOP with about 12 of the original students continuing to progress through the program. The first one has already graduated and has been hired as an ESL teacher in the Sheboygan Area School District. Another student will be graduating this spring and looking for her first teaching position. The other students are expected to graduate in the next two years.

A CASE STUDY OF THE UTOP STUDENTS

In order to help make the program as successful as possible, I decided to initiate a series of case studies of the UTOP students to determine what sources of support they utilized and what obstacles created problems for them. The sample of fifteen people included four Hispanics (all women), and eleven Southeast Asians (four men and seven women). Ten of the Southeast Asians were of Hmong heritage, and one was born in Cambodia. Thus, the total sample included four men and eleven women. All four of the Hispanics were born in Texas, and all ten Hmong were born in Laos. Therefore, the focus of this investigation was on experiences of the students in the sample, not the program itself.

This research used a case study database. This database included the following: research notes, archival records, tabular materials from an informational questionnaire, and taped narratives from comprehensive interviews (see appendix A). The archival records included memoranda, student journals, newspaper articles, and academic transcripts. The use of multiple modes, or overlap methods, of inquiry served as the process of triangulation, and thus increased internal and construct validity by building supportive links between information and between sources.

Each individual in the sample was sent an informational questionnaire (see appendix B). The informational questionnaires were used in order to define various demographic attributes of the students, and to assist in the development of interview themes. Interviews were then conducted based on themes defined from these questionnaires. When possible, student journals and college and local school district memoranda and transcripts were analyzed in order to validate the findings.

FINDINGS

Cross Case Analysis

All four of the Hispanics moved directly to the Midwest with their families. Two of the women moved to be with other family members, while the other two moved for employment opportunities. All eleven of the Southeast Asian individuals fled communist regimes during the time of the Vietnam War to refugee camps in Thailand. They had journeyed by many different routes to the Midwest region of the United States.

Cross-case pattern-matching also revealed that all four of the Hispanics learned English and Spanish concurrently. Two learned English immediately, and two began to learn English once they entered grade school. Hmong was the native language of all ten of the Hmong. Four also learned Lao either in the refugee camps or in schools in Laos. One Hmong also learned Thai in a camp, and two learned French while in Laotian public schools. The Cambodian only knew Laotian (as she lived in refugee camps) until she attended school in the United States. The mean age of when the students began to learn English was 10.7 years old (3 years old for the Hispanics, and 13.5 years old for the Southeast Asians). On the other hand, the mean age when these people moved to the United States was somewhat different. The mean age for the sample was 10.4 years old (0 years old for the Hispanics—all born in the United States, and 14.2 years old for the Southeast Asians).

Sources of Support

By and large, the students in this sample have always had support from their parents to excel in school. From the total sample, eleven UTOP students said their parents were supportive or very supportive of them while they were in elementary and secondary school. All of the Hispanic students said their parents were very supportive of their daughters' academic achievements.

The Southeast Asian students indicated somewhat dissimilar experiences. Seven of the students received a great deal of support from their parents, while four did not. More specifically, the males, with one exception, were expected and encouraged to excel in school. In Southeast Asia, parents must pay for their children to go to elementary and secondary schools. These schools are generally located only in the cities, thus parents quite often must also pay for their children to room and board away from home. The reason the one male gave for his parents not to show support of his education was because they were poor. School was simply not available for him; thus, it was never expected. On the other hand, four of the women received absolutely no support from their parents to go to school. In the Hmong culture, the girl's education would not benefit the natural parents as it would be carried over to her parents-in-law upon her marriage. Thus, many parents did not see any reason to support their daughter's education, especially with the costs associated with schools. Still, three of the girls in the sample did receive support from their families. Typically, these parents were the most educated, and often lived in or near a city in Laos.

In terms of current support for their children's pursuit of higher education, the support given by parents of the Hispanic UTOP students has remained strong. Such remarks from parents as, "You have to go to college. I never had anything like that," and "You have to try to learn so you don't end up like me working in the kitchen and doing hard work," exemplify this strong support. One student also indicated, "I never felt how proud they are of me until now."

The current support shown by the Southeast Asian parents increased even more noticeably. Eight of the students in this sample reported that their parents show a great deal of support for their children's academic pursuits. The parents of the Southeast Asian students believe that education is extremely important for anyone to be successful in the United States. One student reported that his parents came to the United States so that their children would have a chance for a good education. The father also has always dreamed that one of his boys would become a doctor or a professor. A female student explained that her parents espoused education as "the door that opens you to a better life."

When asked to report their primary sources of support for the UTOP program, the students from the entire sample reported the following: seven said their spouses were very significant, four indicated support from their children, three cited support from their parents, three said they get support from their siblings, three said they get support from their fellow UTOP classmates, one said she gained support from a teacher for whom she works, one explained she receives support from her brother-in-law, and four individuals reported they gather a great deal of support from their own motivation. (Respondents were allowed to cite multiple sources of support.) From the Hispanic group, three said they receive support from their siblings, and two from their children. One each indicated that they get support from self, spouse, parents, and classmates. From the Southeast Asian group, six cited support from their spouses, three from themselves, two from their children, parents, and classmates, one from a teacher, and one from an in-law.

Their churches were very positive in showing support for the students' progress in the UTOP, as eight students from the total sample indicated. All four of the Hispanic women indicated that their Christian churches were very encouraging. One student exclaimed, "This new priest that we have now is really happy. He's always asking me how classes are going. The church encourages me a lot." Seven of the Southeast Asian students said that their church played no role in supporting their pursuits for higher education. In general, this is because many of the students have no formally recognized church—religion is simply a part of their culture. Still, four students (three Christian and one Buddhist) claimed that their churches were very supportive of their academic pursuits.

Only one student from the entire sample indicated that she had a formally assigned mentor. Nine more students indicated that they were using informal mentors—somebody from whom they routinely asked for help. Five students reported having neither a formally recognized mentor nor an informal mentor. When asked whether they had a choice for a formal or an informal mentor, five of the students from the entire sample indicated the desire for help from a formally recognized mentor. Another four students would choose help from informal mentors, and six had no preference. One Hmong simply stated, "I just want help." Conversely, another student explained that she would prefer to keep her informal mentors because she had established a comfortable relationship with them.

While not mentioned directly as a source of support, all of the students were emphatic that the financial assistance offered was of paramount support to them. The local college offers 100% free tuition to the UTOP students. A great deal of these monies are reimbursed through federal grants for minority student enrollment, while the college pays the remainder of the tuition costs.

Obstacles

A number of obstacles were mentioned. Twelve students from the entire sample indicated that their limited English vocabulary was a barrier for them in this program. Several students indicated that timed standardized tests were a significant problem for them. Likewise, many students stated financial concerns, and one student showed concern regarding child care.

Most of the Hispanics in the sample were not too concerned with their English proficiency; they had spent their entire lives learning English in American schools. On the other hand, English was a foreign language for each of the Southeast Asian sample members. While they acknowledged the fact that they must become well-versed in writing and speaking in English in order to become teachers, they felt that their present skills created a very difficult challenge for them. One student felt fluent in neither Hmong nor English; she felt "caught in the middle." Another student stated, "English class is very hard; if I pass English, everything else will fall into place."

One student expressed concern that many of the Hmong students do not have the English background of other college students. "Their knowledge may be very high in their own culture and language, but it is not shown in English." One student explained, "Sometimes you think you know what you want to write, but you can't find the right words for it." Another student stated, "I never went to school in this country and have no background in English." Yet another student exclaimed, "English is our second language, and we have to read slower or twice to understand it completely."

Many of the Southeast Asian students are limited in their English vocabulary and grammar because they did not learn English until they were older. One student spoke for many of her classmates when she indicated that they speak "Hmonglish," or a combination of both Hmong and English. In fact, all of the Southeast Asian students said that they spoke a combination of English and one or more of their native tongues when at home. Even two of the Hispanic students speak "Spanglish."

In terms of the standardized entrance tests, one older Hmong student believed that his limited English grammar and vocabulary harmed his scores. He said, "I just guessed." Some students claimed that they knew anywhere from one-tenth to one-third of the vocabulary words on these tests. Another student indicated, "[The placement test] was very, very hard because of the vocabulary. We did not grow up in this country, and we don't know all the root words." A female student explained that the standardized tests measure her language skills, not her knowledge of the content.

Timed tests pose an additional barrier for ESL students in the UTOP. One student said, "It was a timed test. . . that is very difficult for bilingual students." Another student said, "The timing made me nervous." He did not finish any of the placement tests on time. Still another student explained that timed tests are unfair because of the time it takes to translate from English to Hmong and then back again.

IMPLICATIONS

This study found that the UTOP students gather their support from several areas, and family plays the greatest role. This implies the need for the college administration and faculty to meet on occasion with those who are the support network for the UTOP students. The supporters should be made aware of their importance, as well as ways they can continue to show support. Family is important to these students, and the families should be made a part of this learning community.

In addition, the students in the sample indicated a need to have mentors provide academic support. Therefore, a true mentoring program should be established. Students should be given the choice of formal or informal mentors, and these mentors should be given training as to the unique needs of these students and the challenges faced by them, as well as the role of the mentors.

The financial support given by the college was also paramount to the students' entrance and continuation in the program. In order for the students to continue in the UTOP, Lakeland College will need to continue to seek federal and other sources of funding.

The only obstacles that were repeatedly identified by the UTOP students focused on their own limited English vocabularies and skills, and on the placement tests given by the local college. Most of the students did not learn English as their native language. In fact, the majority of the individuals in the sample continue to speak a combination of English and their native tongues. Because of these problems, the students claimed frustration with the fast paced lectures and with their inability to clearly indicate to their professors their understanding of the content presented in each class. In other words, the students feel they are more intelligent than they show through their speaking and writing.

There are two implications of this finding. Students who have been identified as having limited English skills should be given additional classes in basic English. In fact, Lakeland College has provided several basic courses to these students. Similarly, another implication that the college has addressed is the need for professors to be made aware of these concerns about language proficiency and then allow the students sufficient time and opportunities to learn the material and then share what they have learned.

The students also expressed concern with the standardized placement tests given by the college. A large portion of the test measured the test-takers' vocabulary. As just previously mentioned, English vocabulary is a weakness for many of these students. Additionally, many of the students had limited or no formal American education; they were not familiar in standardized test-taking strategies. The tests being timed was another concern for these students. None of the students completed the test in the allotted time. Still, all students who enrolled in the UTOP were admitted to the program; these tests simply identified students who needed extra assistance in English, reading, and math. Therefore, the standardized placement tests should not cause any undue concern to the students. The legitimate concern will be taking and passing the Pre-Professional Skills Test (PPST) that Lakeland College and the state of Wisconsin require for students to officially enroll in the School of Education. Either the students will need ample preparation for the PPST, or the requirement of completing the exam within a required time period will need to be reconsidered.

Finally, coupled with a review of the literature, this research has implications for educational administrators. Both college and public school administrators must take the onus to make such programs successful. This will require a sincere belief that there is a need for more minority teachers to become certified. Such a vision will require that local institutions of higher learning work in tandem with public school districts, local businesses, state legislators and education officials, and, of course, minority representatives. These people need to develop a broad yet detailed plan that provides support for the students entering such programs and eliminates or avoids obstacles to successful program entrance and completion for the students. Standardized entrance tests should be eliminated entirely, or be used as only one of several admission requirements. Frequent and continual program evaluation is essential.

NOTE

For a more complete discussion of the UTOP program development and for a more complete review of the literature, the reader is encouraged to read the author's article in *Phi Delta Kappan Fastback* as cited in the references.

THE AUTHOR

Perry R. Rettig was an elementary school principal in Sheboygan, Wisconsin when the UTOP was developed. Currently, he serves as Assistant Professor of Educational Leadership and Coordinator of the Educational Leadership Masters Degree program at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

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APPENDIX A

CASE STUDY PROTOCOL

Plan for conducting a case study on the Urban Teachers Outreach Program (UTOP) at Lakeland College for the 1993-94 Academic Year

I. PROCEDURES
  A. Informational Questionnaire
  B. Subjects
  C. Case Study Database
  D. Pilot Study
II. CASE STUDY QUESTIONS (INTERVIEW GUIDE)
  A. Questions regarding themes related to support systems identified by the students
  B. Questions regarding themes related to obstacles to program entrance and retention as identified by the students
  C. Questions regarding themes related to student concerns regarding linguistic and other forms of cultural bias in this program

D. Student suggestions for program improvement

III. DATA ANALYSIS
  A. Informational questionnaire
    Descriptive information
    Pattern matching
    Anecdotal information
  B. Individual case studies
    Descriptive information
    Pattern matching
    Anecdotal information
  C. Cross-case analysis
    Descriptive information
    Cross-case patterns
    Anecdotal information

(Adapted from Yin, R.K. 1989. *Case study research: Design and methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.)

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Information will be kept confidential. ID number

Please fill in the blanks or circle the one (1) response most appropriate. Also, if you need more room to respond than the space provided, please feel free to continue your responses on the back of the page.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
CURRENT

1. Your age:_____
2. Race:
    African-American
    Asian (other than Hmong)
    Hispanic
    Hmong
    Native American
    White
    Other (please specify)
3. Gender:
    Female
    Male

4. Marital status:
    - Single (never married)
    - Married
    - Separated
    - Divorced
    - Widowed
5. Number of children _____
    - Please list their age and their gender ________________
6. Primary language spoken at home:______________
    Other languages spoken at home, and by whom__________
7. Education and Degrees earned: (Please list the year and institution for each degree):
    - Grade school
    - High school
    - Bachelors
    - Masters
    - Other
    - Special certifications or licenses earned
8. Family religion _____________

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
PAST

9. Birthplace: (please be specific)________________
10. Family:
    - Single parent family (with mother)
    - Single parent family (with father)
    - Two parent family
    - Extended family (please explain)
    - Other
11. Number and ages of brothers:__________________
12. Number and ages of sisters:____________________
13. Your position in the family:
    - Only child
    - Oldest child
    - Youngest child
    - Middle child (please state order)____________
14. Occupation of:
    - Father_______________
    - Mother______________
    - Other (head of household)_____________
15. Primary language spoken at home:_____________
16. Family religion:_______________

CAREER INFORMATION

17. Your current job status:
    Full-time student
    Part-time student
    Part-time student/part-time employment
    Full-time employment
    Unemployed
    Other
18. (If employed currently) Job title, employer, and length of employment:____
19. Past employment: Job title, employer, and length of employment:
    ____
20. Annual income from your employment:____________________
21. Total family annual income:______________

UTOP INFORMATION

22. Where did you first learn about this program?____________
23. Name the two most important reasons you chose to enter this program:____________________________________
24. Who do you feel, in your family, is your greatest supporter for this program? (please explain)______________________
25. Is there anyone in your family that does not support your work in this program? (please explain)_________________
26. Have you experienced any cultural or linguistic bias in standardized tests in the UTOP? (please explain)______________
27. Have you experienced cultural or linguistic bias that has hurt your progress in your program coursework? In other words, do you know of any cultural or language barriers that have made this college program difficult for you or others? (please explain)_______________
28. Does your own culture or religion dissuade you from pursuing a college degree, or to become a teacher? (please explain)________
29. Do you feel there are other factors that have, or may, keep you from continuing in this program? (please explain)______________
30. What positive factors have helped or will help you to successfully enter and continue with this program? (please explain)______
31. Are you confident in your abilities to: (please explain)
    successfully complete this program______________________
    successfully attain a teaching position____________________
    become a successful teacher____________________________

32. Do you currently have a formally recognized mentor for this program? (please explain)______________________
33. Do you have someone who is informally serving as a mentor to you? (please explain)____________________________
34. Do you belong to any community organizations or committees? (please explain)____________________________
35. Is there any additional information that you would like to add to this questionnaire? (please explain)______________

Please return this survey in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope by January 15, 1994.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND PARTICIPATION

My way

I walk plodding my way
I walk and hang my head
I walk slowly my way

I could hear twittering of birds
I could hear murmuring of leaves
I could hear passing through the window

But I can not stay there

I think about you
I think about the destination
the stream of the water
with the white vapor trail

I could see the burble of the stream
I could see your face in my heart

But I can not stay there

My one step is small
I make my way

Midori Sato
Century College

MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal, Vol. 16, 1999

The Importance of Context in the Academic Achievement of English Language Learners

Marina Hammond
St. Paul Public Schools

This paper asserts that the **lack of meaningful context** in traditional teaching is often a greater barrier to the academic success of English Language learners than their lack of familiarity with the language of instruction. The three crucial points at which instructional designers consider context, the **orienting, instructional**, and **transfer**, are explored. Teaching strategies and philosophies that promote deeply contextualized language are outlined.

Consider this 1995 statement from the United States Department of Education:

> Children who come from cultural and linguistic minority backgrounds often founder in American schools. Many do not gain a solid grounding in English reading and writing or in mathematics and science by the time they enter high school. As young adults they are therefore inadequately prepared for higher education or for all but the most menial employment. The costs of their wasted potential are unacceptable-both to the young people themselves and to the U.S. society as a whole. (Berman, Minicucci, McLaughlin, Nelson, and Woodworth, 1995)

It is generally assumed that the reason many English Language Learners (ELLs) do not achieve high academic success is that their lack of English prevents them from accessing the information presented in the classroom. The students' failure to understand the teacher is usually viewed as being due to *language specific deficits* (Carrell, 1984).

Second language acquisition research, however, has shown that a foreign language of instruction is only one, and often not the most important, barrier to learning (Saville-Troike, 1991). Rather, the lack of understandable context in the learning environment is a highly important factor to consider when ELLs do not perform well in the classroom. Context reduced teaching practices such as phonics drills, fill in the blank worksheets, spelling lists, and other activities that concentrate on the form and structure of English without reference to the meaning of the words, do little to promote effective language development in ELLs.

The purpose of this paper is to assert that teachers, and ESL teachers in particular, can best help their ELLs succeed academically by focusing on, and improving, the **contextualization** of learning, and by using strategies outlined here to create deeply meaningful contexts in their classes.

Language minority children, like all children, come to school having already accomplished an incredible amount of learning. They speak their own languages fluently; they know about their families and their own cultures. They possess a wide variety of cognitive, physical, artistic, and musical skills.

Positive transfer of this wealth of knowledge is much more likely to occur when the **context** of the new learning environment is understood. Context can be defined as "...a multilevel body of factors in which learning and performance are embedded" (Tessmer and Richey, 1997). Understanding a new environment involves activating background knowledge which can be linked to additional information. Contextualization "..better enables students to use what they know to learn and remember by establishing connections with familiar concepts in memory" (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994). The role of prior knowledge in language development has been formalized as *schema theory* (Carrell, 1984). The framework of previously acquired knowledge is called schemata. "Once acquired, schemata... are available for interpretation of meaning in similar events even if the language spoken by the other participants is not fully understood." (Saville-Troike, 1991). "There is no reason to believe that memory schemata in one language cannot be used to assist solving problems or understanding similar information in a second language..." (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994).

Communication acts are performed in nonverbal language and visual forms; therefore, they are not necessarily language specific (Tang, 1994). Thus, a child who comes to an American school with no English, but with some schooling, will usually begin performing at a higher academic level than a child with no English and no educational experience. The first child has a framework of expectations and experience for "school" (although many details may be different in the American school), and so can transfer "school skills" immediately; while the second child must spend considerable time acquiring the "school" knowledge framework. The child with school experience, for example, has an idea of how to sit in a circle and listen to a story: that a story has a beginning, middle, and an end, that there will be characters and, most likely, a problem and a solution, and that the teacher's intonation and body language will give clues to the meaning of the words in the story. In this way, that child is ready to begin to acquire some English proficiency from listening to that story the first time. The child with no school experience may spend the first time in story circle adjusting to the novelty of sitting in a circle with a group of new classmates, and not attend to the story itself at all.

How can ESL teachers contextualize their teaching in order to build and activate prior knowledge to maximize positive transfer of their students' skills and provide a solid framework in which new knowledge will become embedded? The context of the ESL lesson, for K-12 students, should be in the content areas, not in the forms or structures of the English language. "Rather than teaching a grammatical sequence, the teacher would derive language activities from the content topics included in integrated thematic units (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994). Chamot and O'Malley remind us that "students develop academic language skills in English through cognitively demanding activities in which comprehension is assisted by contextual supports..."(1994).

There are three crucial points at which instructional designers consider context: the **orienting** context, the **instructional** context, and the **transfer** context (Tessmer and Richey, 1997). The orienting context precedes the learning event and contains factors that influence the students' motivation and readiness to learn (Tessmer and Richey, 1997) . What does this mean for a new ELL coming to class? Jo Gusman (Gusman, 1997) reminds us that at the beginning of the "newcomer" and teacher relationship, it is the extra-linguistic "language" that the student is reading. Facial expressions, tone of voice, proximity, eye contact, body stance -- these are what the child is attending to. Will these encourage the child to feel comfortable with the teacher, or will these cause the child's "affective filter", the psychological barrier present when a person is anxious or intimidated, (Krashen, 1981, in Gusman, 1997) to come between the student and what the teacher has to offer? Does the classroom contain pictures and objects that lead a child to think that their ethnicity and culture will be respected? Is the students' need to process new experiences in their native language with their peers understood by the teacher or are the students immediately told to be quiet? Tessmer and Richey (1997) speak of the perceived utility of impending instruction as an important element of the orienting context. Is the ESL learning environment presented to them as a place where the students will learn things of benefit to them, or a place where their deficiencies have landed them? Will the students continue to expand their knowledge of the content subjects being taught in the mainstream classroom? Does the mainstream teacher support ESL by her (usually non-verbal) reaction to the appearance of the ESL teacher at the classroom door? All these factors are included in the orienting context that the student brings to class.

The **instructional** context is the process of the lessons themselves. It includes instructional strategies, learner characteristics, objectives, practice, and feedback (Tessmer and Richey). It is here that the possibility for creating meaningful contexts of learning is the greatest. Yet, traditionally, language teaching has a history of context-reduced exercises: mechanical substitution drills, choral repetition, rote memorization, and the like. The idea was that "...before students can use the language in a communicative way, they must learn the forms that make up its various parts" (Walz, 1989). Over time, this idea has been, in effect, reversed. Now, "...recent studies have pointed to the possible benefits of a 'top-down' or 'whole language' approach to language instruction, through which the students manipulate language to communicate thoughts by using higher level skills before attending to discrete language structures..." (Shrum and Glisan, 1994).

What strategies and techniques have been used successfully to create deeply meaningful contexts in the ESL classroom? Answers come from several overlapping forefronts of educational theory and practice: content-ESL, Howard Gardner's eight intelligences, schema theory, engaged learner paradigms, thematic interdisciplinary teaching, and whole language/whole child ideas. For example, instead of having students study and try to memorize the various forms of the past tense, have them speak and write about an important experience they had in the past, and use these discussions and writings as the basis for the past tense lesson. Another example would be, instead of the typical lesson on comparative adjectives in an ESL textbook, where disparate and unrelated items are compared (" An elephant is *bigger* than a mouse. A skyscraper is *taller* than a bus."), read two good stories and have the students make comparative statements about the characters and events in the stories. "L2 classes should offer a language-nurturing environment, paying attention to doing things with language, rather than the language itself" (Krashen and Terrell, 1983).

The first step to creating context is to activate and/or create background knowledge. This knowledge is the framework into which the new knowledge will be embedded, so the more extensive it is, the better. Because we know that students learn in a variety of ways and that we all remember more when we are actively engaged, it is important to build in as many active experiences as possible. It is also important to incorporate the cultural background and life experiences of the students into the curriculum. Carrell (1984) suggests various kinds of activities; "viewing movies, slides, pictures; field trips; demonstrations; real-life experiences; class discussions and debates; plays, skits, and role-playing activities; teacher-, text-, or student- generated predictions...." Gusman (1997) calls these the "being there" experiences and adds, "Where can you take your students so they have a meaningful context for this lesson?" For example, while doing a unit on trains: rearrange the chairs and take your students on a "train ride" before reading a book about a train ride, discuss and write about any real train rides the students have been on, surround the students with pictures of trains and train workers in different countries, play songs and videos about trains and train rides, have stacks of books having anything to do with trains ready for free reading time, and, of course, if possible, take your students to a train station or train crossing and look, smell, and listen to real trains.

It is important to always allow students to discuss these experiences with their peers in their native language. Saville-Troike found that "most of the students who achieved best in content areas, as measured by tests in English, were those who had the most opportunity to discuss the concepts they were learning in their native language with peers or with adults..."(1984).

When structuring lessons to create context, the focus should be deeper and narrower than is traditional. Using a thematic approach by organizing lessons into cohesive units is an excellent method. However, we should not look at a topic for two or three days in ESL class and call it a "unit". Nor should we think that just having a theme for a certain number of weeks means that we have created meaningful context for our students; there must be a wide variety of challenging learning activities connected to the theme. Units should take several weeks; the topic needs to be covered in depth and from many different angles, using many different modalities in order for meaningful context to be established. A national 1995 study of exemplary schools for language minority students found that "the innovative curriculum and instruction for LEP students blended opportunities for active discovery, cooperative learning, a curriculum related to the students' experience and thematic instruction into a coherent whole" and " the curriculum emphasized the depth of understanding over breadth of coverage..." (Berman, Minicucci, McLaughlin, Nelson, and Woodworth, 1995). A unit on the human body, for example, could begin with a student generated list of what they already know about their bodies and how the different parts function in order to activate and create prior knowledge, then proceed to groups of students researching how various areas of the body function, reporting back to the class for oral language development work, writing up their findings and compiling a book as the culminating product. Along the way, the teacher could provide experiences and opportunities to expand the topic and keep it interesting for the students -- showing videos of athletes and others doing extraordinary things, having the students write or establish a "keypal" relationship on the Internet with an expert (doctor, nurse, or medical student) to get their questions answered and practice authentic writing for meaning, or encouraging students to reflect on how people with physical impairments adjust to a new set of rules in the functioning of their body.

These activities deepen the students' cognitive processing, yet, because they are focused on a central theme, the vocabulary and other linguistic structures get naturally recycled, establishing long term retention.

What should teachers consider when selecting themes? Experts suggest "identifying an overarching theme or organizational principle consistent with the students' language objectives and **relevant to the academic subject matters**. ESL teachers should be sure to connect their themes with the content areas the students are studying in their mainstream classes. This can be accomplished by collaboration with classroom teachers and curriculum coordinators, and examination of the different texts and materials used by the classroom teachers. Often, students can help suggest these themes and tease out the underlying relationships for themselves in brainstorming session. While they are doing that, they are assuming responsibility for the curriculum and empowering themselves as learners. Therefore, they are likely to have a deeper commitment to the learning process and achieve more" (Burkhart and Sheppard, no date). It is vital that the materials used in the lessons be rich in context. Children's literature (storybooks), rather than phonics-based "stories" or basal readers, are used because "they are an excellent source of both vocabulary and context development since the words tend to be supported by pictures and other extra-linguistic clues...and storybooks provide the context for verbal interaction, particularly the important sequence of elicitation-response-evaluation" (Coonrod and Hughes, 1994). Children's literature also teaches the basics of plot development: the setting, characters, problems and solutions. The students' own writings serve as excellent reading materials because of their relevance and personal connection. Web sites and CD-ROMs can be great resources, as they are usually visually stimulating, with lots of extra-linguistic cues and clues.

Transfer is the successful application of a learned skill to new situation. The material the student is given to learn should provide more knowledge in the future. Jerome Bruner (in Sizer, 1992) argues that "grasping the structure of a subject is understanding it in a way that permits many other things to be related to it meaningfully. To learn structure, in short, is to learn how things are related." Furthermore, it has been shown (Tang, 1994) that processes such as classification, description, or sequence are the same regardless of content area, and that graphic representations of these processes are similar. Teachers can take advantage of this fact when structuring lessons to enhance transfer of learning. A complex unit with one topic as its center will naturally create more opportunities for relationships between ideas than, for example, a series of lectures on events in history that are only connected in a linear fashion. A context rich unit will provide more opportunities for transfer of skills within the unit, which will lead to increased ease of transfer to other situations. The human body unit described above, for example, requires the students to generate questions, collect, analyze, and synthesize information in order to answer their questions, organize that information into cohesive oral and written formats, present their findings, and listen to and evaluate others' findings. These are some of the most important academic skills and, once the students have acquired them in the context of the human body unit, these skills can be employed in other contexts.

CONCLUSION

Traditionally, knowledge in school is often presented in decontextualized settings; students are expected to memorize the spelling of lists of unrelated words, "stories" are based on phonics rather than meaning, historical events are presented as simply following each other rather than as being related, journal and other writing topics widely differ from day to day, and the list goes on. Context reduced language is much more difficult, in fact often impossible, for second language learners to understand. Context reduced lessons and activities do not provide the transferable higher level thinking skills that ELLs need in order to succeed academically.

By contrast, a context rich unit that delves into a relevant topic and includes challenging complex learning activities that result in meaningful student-created products will raise ELLs academic proficiency and provide positive transferable skills.

We must put contextualization at the top of our list as teachers when we look for answers on the issue of increasing academic success for English Language Learners.

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Form, Function, and Meaning: Understanding/ Teaching English Participles

Carl Zhonggang Gao
University of Wisconsin, River Falls

Although the distinction between the present and past participles seems to be very straightforward to native speakers of English, it sometimes can be very problematic to nonnative speakers. Addressing the recurring misuse problem, the paper discusses the different facets of English participles intended to aid ESL/EFL teachers in both understanding and teaching their use. It begins with establishing a convention of using "-en" as the past participle form to distinguish it from the past tense form "-ed." Once the forms are clear to students, the functions of participles as both verbs and adjectives are examined. The meanings of the two signals "-ing" and "-en" are explained with emphasis on the semantic relationship between them. The degree of vividness interpretation can be applied to reinforce the understanding of present and past participles as an opposing pair with contrasting meanings. Based on the discussion, suggestions for teaching English participles are offered. Forms, functions and meanings are to be introduced and explained as one unit since all linguistic signs involve signals paired with meanings used in certain contexts.

INTRODUCTION

English participles are defined as "non-finite verb forms that function as adjectives" (Richards, 1985). They are labeled as the -ing form for present participles and the -en form for past participles. Although the distinction between the present and past participles seems to be very straightforward to native speakers of English, it sometimes can be very problematic to speakers of other languages learning English. There is a recurring tendency among ESL/EFL students to misuse English participles. More often than not, we would encounter such examples in students' writings as:

1. *I am very *interesting* in learning English grammar.

2. *My son is *boring* in his math class because the math problems are very easy.
3. *I have just seen an *excited* movie with my friends.
4. *The directions to the party are very *confused* to us.

Similar problems exist in students' oral communication as well. To help ESL/EFL students avoid the participle usage problem, I suggest that we teach them the forms, functions, and meanings of participles. By understanding the forms paired with meanings, we can develop a practical, holistic approach to teaching English participles so that ESL/EFL students can master the key concepts of participles and use them effectively in their oral and written communication.

FORMS OF ENGLISH PARTICIPLES

Participles are identical in form whether they are used as verbs or as adjectives. The present participle form is always -ing, while the past participle form varies depending on the inflection or the ending of the verb. The primary task in understanding the forms of English participles is to adopt a convention that will distinguish the past participle forms from the past tense forms. A verb paradigm can be created to illustrate such a distinction.

Table 1. The English Verb Forms

Verbs	Infin (to)	3rd Per. Sg. Present (-s)	Past Tense (-ed)	Past Part (-en)	Present Part (-ing)
talk	to talk	talks	talked	(have/has) talked	talking
make	to make	makes	made	(have/has) made	making
be	to be	is	was/were	(have/has) been	being
take	to take	takes	took	(have/has) taken	taking
cut	to cut	cuts	cut	(have/has) cut	cutting

The paradigm in Table 1 has covered all the possible verb forms in

English. The distinction between the past tense form and the past participle form is clearly demonstrated in the table. Once the convention of using -en form to indicate past participle is comprehended, ESL/EFL students will not easily confuse the past tense form with the past participle form.

FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH PARTICIPLES

Participles are commonly known as "verbal adjectives," and they can function as both verbs and adjectives. Examine the following sentences:

5. He had *taken* it.
6. He was *killed* by Tim.
7. It is a rarely *heard* work by Purcell.
8. It is a *broken* vase. It seemed *broken*.
9. He is a *worried* man. He seemed *worried*.

Sentences 5 to 9 containing past participles can be placed on the continuum set up by Huddleston (1993:324) with "verbal" on one end and "adjectival" on the other as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Huddleston's Verbal and Adjectival Continuum

Verbal — Adjectival

<———————————————————————>

A	B	C	D	E
[He had] *taken* [it]	[He was]*killed* [(by Tim)]	[a rarely]*heard* [work by Purcell]	[a]*broken* vase [It seemed]*broken*	[a] worried[man] [Heseemed] *worried*

Along this verbal-adjectival continuum, the past participles used in these instances gradually shift from verbs to adjectives. In A and B, *taken* and *killed* are part of the verb phrases indicating past perfect tense and past passive respectively. *Broken* and *worried* in D and E are part of the noun phrases as they occur in between determiners and nouns and function as predicatives grammatically in both cases. In C, however, *heard* shares the features of both a verb and an adjective. In the surface structure, *heard* is placed in between a determiner and a noun. Without changing the meaning, sentence 7 can also be rewritten as, "It is a work by Purcell that *is* rarely *heard*," in which *heard* is a verb, not an adjective.

Huddleston's verbal and adjectival continuum as represented in Figure 1 is also valid for present participles. Let us examine some examples

of present participles:
10. He was *telling* the truth.
11. No one saw him *leaving* the building.
12. *Being* a single parent, she has to do all the house chores on her own.
13. Those *making* more than $50,000 a year will pay tax at a different bracket.
14. The beating incident *being* debated was somewhat controversial.
15. The boy pointed towards the *moving* van.
16. Residents are concerned about the rapidly *growing* crime rate in the area.
17. He was a *charming* politician.
18. It seemed very *interesting*.

The present participle in 10 is part of the verb indicating the past progressive tense while the participles in sentences 11 to 14 can be recast to show their deep structures. Examine the recast sentences:
11a. No one saw him (when he *was*) *leaving* the building.
12a. (As she *is*) *being* a single parent, she has to do all the house chores on her own.
13a. Those (who *are*) *making* over $50,000 a year will pay tax at a different bracket.
14a. The beating incident (which *is*) *being* debated was somewhat controversial.

Words in the parentheses are added to show the function of present participles in each particular sentence. It is quite obvious that the present participles in 11a-14a ought to be accounted for as verbs. Sentences 15 and 16 may appear to have a different structure from sentences 11 to 14 as present participles in these sentences are involved in noun phrases, but upon closer examination, they share the same feature of being part of a verb. For instance:
15a. The boy pointed toward the *moving* van (= the van that *is moving*).
16a. Residents are concerned about the rapidly *growing* crime rate (= the crime rate that *is growing* rapidly) in the area.

15 and 16 can be placed somewhere in the middle of the verbal and adjectival continuum. They appear to be adjectives in the surface structures, but they are actually verbs in their deep structures. In contrast, 17 and 18 are at the very end on the adjectival side of the continuum since they are more adjectival than verbal.

A SIGN-BASED SEMANTIC EXPLANATION TO ENGLISH PARTICIPLES

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983:451), in their The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course, discussed the relationship of -ing and -en adjective participles to emotive verbs. They argue that

> it must be made clear that if the adjective refers to the experiencer, i.e., the animate being or beings that are feeling the emotion, then the -En participle should be used. If, on the other hand, the adjective refers to the actor, i.e., the thing or person that is causing the emotion, then the -Ing participle should be used.

Their idea can be illustrated briefly in the following table:

Table 2. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's Explanation of English Participles

Emotive verbs	-En = the experiencer	-Ing = the actor
interest	an *interested* basketball fan	an *interesting* game
amuse	an *amused* audience	*amusing* jokes
annoy	several *annoyed* neighbors	the *annoying* stereo
surprise	the *surprised* media	a *surprising* victory
irritate	some *irritated* customers	the *irritating* salesclerk

The contrast between "the one/thing causing the emotion" and "the one feeling the emotion" is intelligibly demonstrated in the table. However, the designation of the verbs used in participles seems to be limited to "emotive verbs" only, while there are other verb categories which may perform the same duties as participles.

The inflectional morphemes -ing and -en represent two opposing signals with two different meanings. These two signals should not be treated as isolated and unrelated lexical morphemes. The meaning of -ing for present participles is defined in terms of the meaning -en for past participles. When using -ing, one expresses the meaning of "an on-going event itself" or "the actual activity" (Huffman, 1989:152); when using -en, one signals the meaning of "a state resulting from the activity." Table 3 illustrates this pair of morphemes with their attached meanings.

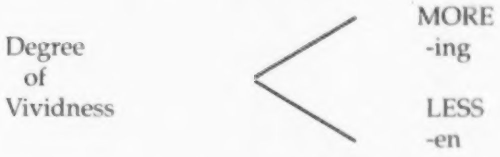
Table 3. Signals and Meanings of English Participles

Verbs	Signal: -*ing* Meaning: "on-going event itself"	Signal: -*en* Meaning: "resultant state"
marry	a *marrying* man	a *married* man
fall	a *falling* rock	a *fallen* rock
bite	a *biting* dog	a *bitten* dog
bore	a *boring* comedian	a *bored* audience
break	CNN *Breaking* News	a *broken* vase

The sign-based explanation expands on Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's explanation to include the various verb categories. The participles with the signal -*ing* denote the meaning of an on-going event itself. *Marrying*, *falling*, *biting*, *boring*, and *breaking* all indicate a process the head noun (i.e. man, rock, dog, or comedian) is currently going through or formulating (i.e. news). The meaning of present participles focuses on an on-going process or activity itself. The past participles with signal -*en*, on the other hand, denote quite a different meaning. They indicate a resultant state after an event or activity, not an on-going process.

On the interpretation side, the dichotomy of present and past participles can be explained in terms of "degree of vividness" suggested by Huffman (1989:152).

Figure 2. Interpretation of English Participles



As the signal -*ing* indicates the on-going event itself, for example, *CNN breaking news*, it can be interpreted in a more vivid manner because the event is taking place or in the process of developing. The signal -*en*, in contrast, denotes that the event has already happened as in *the broken vase*; it, therefore, has a less vivid interpretation. Students can form mental pictures by examining a given participle in its degree of vividness.

TEACHING ENGLISH PARTICIPLES

The analysis of signals (-*ing* and –*en* morphemes) paired with meanings along with Huffman's interpretation of these signals (more vivid vs. less vivid) has provided a set of essential elements for ESL/EFL students to understand English participles. These key features of English participles can be summarized (see Table 4) and utilized as references for teaching those who have difficulty distinguishing the meaning of present participles from that of its counterpart, past participles.

Table 4 Key Features of English Participles with Examples

Signal: -*ing* Meaning: on-going event/activity Interpretation: more vivid	Signal: -*en* Meaning: resultant state Interpretation: less vivid
an *embarrassing* experience	an *embarrassed* stranger
an *exciting* trip	*excited* vacationers
a *depressing* experience	a *depressed* person
a *satisfying* meal	*satisfied* customers
an *encouraging* coach	an *encouraged* player
a *charming* politician	the *charmed* followers
a *fascinating* story	a *fascinated* group of friends
an *amusing* monkey	an *amused* audience
a *surprising* decision	the *surprised* parents
a *frustrating* test	a *frustrated* student
falling prices	a *fallen* hero
a *moving* scene	a deeply *moved* youngster
a *shrinking* number	a *shrunken* shirt

The examination of the forms, functions, and meanings of English participles has given me new insights for teaching them to ESL/EFL students. Instead of telling students that they have to remember all the different uses, I can teach this particular grammar point in a holistic manner. In my teaching, especially in programs where grammar is taught explicitly, I start by establishing a convention of using the signal -*en* as the past participle form to distinguish it from the past tense form -*ed*. Once students have understood the forms, I proceed to explain the meanings of the two signals (-*ing* vs. -*en*). I emphasize the semantic relationship between -*ing* vs. -*en* and consider them as a related pair with contrasting meanings. To reinforce the understanding of present and past participles as an opposing pair, I use Huffman's degree of vividness interpretation to show the contrast between the two forms of participles. I introduce the forms, functions, and meanings and explain them as a whole unit because all linguistic signs are made up of signals paired with meanings.

For class activities, I suggest using a short story passage taken from any ESL workbook (such as the one in Appendix One) as the focused group practice. The one listed in Appendix One describes an experience of visiting a ghost town. In the passage, two forms of participles are given. As students work their way through, they will discuss and decide which the appropriate choice is for each item. For example, the first two contrasting pairs "frightened vs. frightening" and "interested vs. interesting" are used to describe an experience. The next three pairs of participles (abandoned vs. abandoning; run-down vs. running-down; broken vs. breaking) are used to describe buildings and windows in a deserted town. Students are able to use the key features presented in Table 4 to discuss the validity of their choice in context and argue with one another. This kind of exercise helps students internalize the concepts I have argued and introduced.

Another way to practice distinguishing and using participles is to design a filling-in- the-blank exercise. Instead of giving out both participle forms for each particular word, I suggest using the verb forms (interest, frighten, abandon, etc.) and place them on top of the passage in random order (See Appendix Two). Students will have to use the context as the clue in order to choose the appropriate word and change the word form accordingly. This exercise can be done either individually or in small groups. For the writing assignment, I suggest that teachers provide a list of words in both *–ing* forms and *–en* forms (See Appendix Three) and ask students to write a personal narrative, be it an embarrassing, fascinating, or frightening experience of their own. They are asked to use as many words from the list as possible.

CONCLUSION

The discussion of the various facets of English participles has yielded certain guidelines and strategies that may be useful in presenting them to ESL/EFL students. Obviously, the study of form and function is not quite enough if the meaning is ignored. Knowing the distinction between verbs and adjectives alone does not solve the problem of comprehending English participles and using them effectively in communication. By examining the signals (or the morphemes attached to the participles) paired with meanings, we lead students to the core of understanding English participles. In addition, interpreting English participles in terms of degree of vividness has provided further distinction between present and past participles. With focused practice, ESL/EFL students should be able to understand the different forms paired with meanings and make their own interpretations mentally whenever they use English participles in their communication.

THE AUTHOR

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APPENDIX ONE

Direction: Choose between the two given participle forms by circling the appropriate choice.

I visited a ghost town once. It was an (interested, interesting) experience, though I must admit it was a little (frightened, frightening), too.

The town was full of (abandoned, abandoning) and (run-down, running-down) buildings. Most of them had (broken, breaking) windows. Inside, the (decayed, decaying) rooms held nothing but dust and a few (disgusted, disgusting) smells. But I was (surprised, surprising) to see how much of the past was (preserved, preserving). For example, some of the kitchens were quite (fascinated, fascinating). They still had (run, running) water and (worked, working) stoves. There were also some old books in some of the houses, and we could tell that the inhabitants were (educated, educating) people.

I was (amazed, amazing) by the whole experience. It certainly was (enlightened, enlightening).

APPENDIX TWO

Direction: Choose one of the following words to fill in the blanks in their appropriate forms in context.

enlighten, interest, abandon, break, run-down, disgust, surprise, work, educate, amaze, run decay, fascinate,

I visited a ghost town once. It was an __________ experience, though I must admit it was a little __________, too.

The town was full of __________ and __________ buildings. Most of them had __________ windows. Inside, the __________ rooms held nothing but dust and a few __________ smells. But I was __________ to see how much of the past was __________. For example, some of the kitchens were quite __________. They still had __________ water and __________ stoves. There were also some old books in some of the houses, and we could tell that the inhabitants were __________ people.

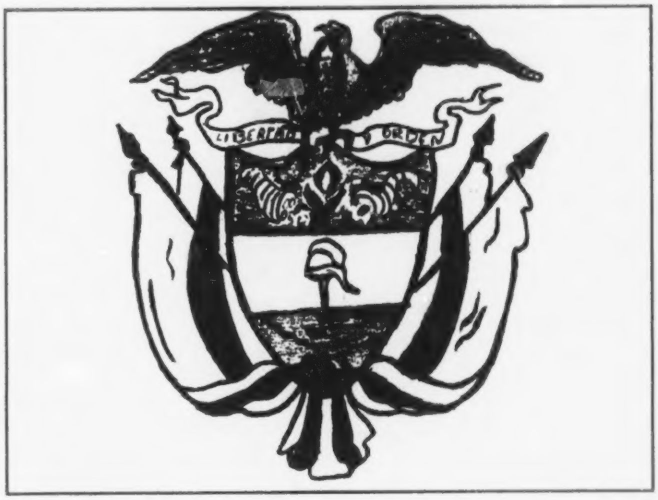
I was __________ by the whole experience. It certainly was __________.

APPENDIX THREE

Commonly Used Participles as Adjectives

-Ing Forms
alarming, amazing, amusing, astonishing, boring, breaking, confusing, damaging, depressing, disappointing, distinguishing, disturbing, embarrassing, encouraging, exciting, falling, fascinating, finishing, frightening, interesting, intriguing, pleasing, satisfying, shocking, tiring, worrying

-En Forms
alarmed, amazed, amused, astonished, bored, broken, confused, damaged, depressed, disappointed, distinguished, disturbed, embarrassed, encouraged, excited, fallen, fascinated, finished, frightened, interested, intrigued, pleased, satisfied, shocked, surprised, tired, worried


LIBERTAD Y ORDEN

The Shield of the Republic of Colombia

The shield of Colombia looks old fashioned and a little rococo. It looks like a coat of arms of an important family with an eagle, banners, ribbon, cornucopias, boats, maps, and words. The symbolism is clear. The eagle means the power crossing our air in a manifestation of freedom. The crown of olive leaves that the eagle is holding with its beak means peace. The eagle is standing on a ribbon. It has an inscription that says freedom and order. Beneath the eagle talons we can see three fields ranging from top to bottom. In the first field there are two cornucopias. One is filled with gold and food. The flower in the middle of the two cornucopias symbolizes the same meaning. The hat in the middle field represents justice. The bottom field shows how rich Colombia is in possessing the Panama Canal and its strategic location within the world. The pictured boats on both sides of the canal symbolize the power in both oceans. Surrounding the coat of arms there are banners. The first is yellow and means our wealth. The blue banner represents the skies, the oceans and the rivers. The red banner represents the blood of our heroes for the price of our freedom.

In my opinion, all these meanings aren't true in the life of this country. This is an ironic symbol. The eagle is almost extinct. Peace? The crown is misinterpreted because peace there is only a dream. The inscription of order and freedom is a utopia because they have not even human rights. One of the cornucopia and the yellow banner that represents the gold are now empty, because there is no more gold anymore. Due to exportation, the country enjoys the worst harvest, leaving the food cornucopia also empty. The hat of justice is now like the hat of a clown. The Panama Canal in the bottom field no longer belongs to Colombia. It was sold to U.S.A. on November 3, 1903. The blue banner that shows the skies and the oceans and rivers is true. The red banner is blood not from heroes from the past, but is from heroes of the present. It is the blood of the good people who try to do right where things are wrong.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Street Speak: Essential American Slang and Idioms *2nd edition*, Davis Burke, David Harrington.

Los Angeles: Caslon Books. December, 1998. 135 pages.

Street Speak, a new classroom edition of *Street Talk* , is a colorful text with cartoon-like, eye-catching funny illustrations on almost every page of the book. It is written to expand students' use of American slang and idioms. It may be suitable for use by a wide range of English learners: from high beginner to advanced, studying in different programs of English as a Second Language or English as a Foreign Language. The student's book is accompanied by a cassette tape and a workbook. Teachers may acquire a teacher's guide, though the book may just as easily serve as a self-teaching material. Teachers may find the text of great help in listening, speaking, and pronunciation classes, for vocabulary expansion, or as a component of an American culture class, where the pragmatic aspect of English is included.

As the back cover of the book announces, "it explores some of the most popular slang and idioms that are actively used and understood by virtually every native-born American." In fact, the selection is so essential that one might wonder how anyone could function without it, at least passively. In this respect, the book appears superior to many of its counterparts which often include less authentic and less frequently used or simply dated expressions.

Street Speak consists of ten chapters, each based on one aspect of life: At the Party, At the Market, At the Movies, On Vacation, At the Airport, At a Restaurant, On the Road, At School, To Your Health, and On a Date. Each chapter introduces between 10 and 15 new slang words and idioms, all listed in each chapter's contents. The idiom that best represents the chapter appears as its subheading. For example, the chapter, At the Airport, is represented by "I'm taking the red-eye" or the chapter, On a Date, has as its subtitle the phrase, "He stood me up." Each chapter follows virtually the same clear format of material presentation, which contributes to the learning activities being more predictable and more user-friendly. For example, students go through a series of context exercises, listening activities, paraphrasing activities, cloze exercises, role plays, matching exercises, or true-false exercises. Idioms and slang expressions are contextualized in mini-dialogs which students can either memorize or use as a springboard for the creation of their own mini-dialogs in pair work activities.

As mentioned above, the book renders itself quite nicely as a pronunciation teaching tool as well. A welcome feature of the book is a section called "Real Speak." Each chapter introduces the same dialog three times: the first time the dialog introduces the chapter's new slang and idioms, the second time it uses standard English, and, finally, the same dialog appears in its "Real Speak" version, with the reduced forms used in informal situations, as in this example:

example:	Since you did such a big favor for me yesterday, dinner **is on me**.
translation:	Since you did such a big favor for me yesterday, **I'm pay ing for** dinner.
as spoken:	Since ya did such a big faver fer me yesderday, dinner**'s on me**.

Brief explanations provided as to why sometimes pronunciation changes from full form to contracted form simplify the learning of pronunciation. Likewise, the new vocabulary is practised in informal sentences which are juxtaposed to their formal counterparts in a variety of exercises.

No text can ever satisfy every professional or every teacher, and this text is, I am sure, no exception. Its main drawback, if we were to speak of any, is its brevity. It could not be used as a sole text for practically any full-fledged course, although it could quite easily be used for a one-hour a week specialized training in a 10-week course. Personally, I appreciate its brevity.

REVIEWER

Marya Teutsch-Dwyer has a Ph.D. in Second Language Acquisition and Language, Culture and Literacy from Stanford University. She is Director of Intensive English Center and teaches in the MA TESL Program at St. Cloud State University, Minnesota.

Extensive Reading in the Second Language Classroom,

Richard R. Day and Julian Bamford. Part of the Cambridge Language Education series. Jack C. Richards, series editor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Extensive Reading in the Second Language Classroom, by authors Richard R. Day and Julian Bamford, is an excellent starting place for any second language program considering implementing or improving an extensive reading program. The authors are strong advocates for this type of program, stating in the preface that their goal with the book is to "provide a theoretical and pedagogical foundation for the premise that extensive reading should be an integral part of reading instruction in the second language classroom." Their goal is accomplished with a straightforward, clear writing style, and a book packed with helpful information and ideas.

The text is divided into three sections. The first section provides a general introduction to the concept of extensive reading, and presents the theory and research to support its usefulness in learning any second language. The second section looks at extensive reading materials, debating the complex issues of authenticity, simplification and language learner literature. Finally, section three deals with the myriad practical issues involved with setting up and carrying out an extensive reading program. These three sections refer often to learners of English, but would be useful for any second language learner context. In addition, there is an appendix, which focuses fully on English, providing a bibliography of suitable reading materials for those setting up an extensive reading program in an ESL or EFL setting.

Throughout the book, the authors stress that extensive reading should be reading for pleasure, so students should have freedom to choose what they want to read from a wide range of materials. Students should read materials that are slightly below their linguistic competence (i minus 1) and should read as much as they can, and rather quickly. Benefits have been shown in such areas as second language reading ability, vocabulary, linguistic competence and writing. While the first section cites some research from these and other benefits, this section is not as substantial as might be hoped. In addition, it is not always clear in the other two, more detailed sections, how much of what is written stems from the research, and how much are claims of the authors and those they interviewed based on experience.

In either case, the book is a rich source for the nuts and bolts of establishing and running an extensive reading program, from a solid survey of goals and procedures, to a wise assessment of what constitutes appropriate reading materials, to help forming lists of what needs to be done to set up the physical space for books. The appendix, a wonderfully comprehensive bibliography of language learner literature in English, is a real plus, with the outstanding books in bold and publisher information included.

Teachers and administrators who are interested in starting an extensive reading program, or those with many years of experience with this type of program, are all assured of finding new useful, creative and captivating ideas along with an endless font of encouragement for reading and reading programs in this practical guidebook.

REVIEWER

Andrea Poulos received her MA in TESOL from the University of Minnesota in 1997. She now teaches ESL in the Minnesota English Center at the University of Minnesota, where she also coordinates the Reading Lab for extensive reading.

Materials Development in Language Teaching**.** Brian Tomlinson, ed. Cambridge Language Teaching Library. Cambridge University Press, 1998. 368 pages.

Materials Development in Language Teaching, edited by Brian Tomlinson, is a book written for a variety of professionals in ESL instruction: those who already develop and assess the usefulness of their own materials, those interested in possibly publishing a textbook of materials, and advanced graduate students in ESL programs who are seeking ways to establish themselves within this field. Tomlinson includes a variety of essays and effective summaries at the end of each section which take the reader through the publishing process. He begins by encouraging professionals to move from preparing individual lessons to writing course books.

In the first section, Gwyneth Fox, Jane Willis, and team writers Ronald Carter, Rebecca Hughes, and Michael McCarthy discuss spoken language and its oddities. They stress that although L2 learners need to be aware of the various meanings a single English word may have, "native speaker" English may not be the most appropriate goal. While it is undoubtedly important for language learners to understand that there are different ways to use language, it may not be essential for L2 learners to actually speak colloquial English themselves. However, to assist L2 learners in their understanding of various contexts in which to use specific words, the authors suggest that concordances are quite helpful. Fox indicates that computer generated concordances produce a wealth of information; similarly, Willis explains the usefulness of manually generated concordances. Regardless if a corpus is developed manually or by computer, the authors agree on their usefulness and offer suggestions for using them in the language classroom.

The remaining essays in the book focus on current theories of language learning and on the value of publishing teaching materials. Overall, the authors discuss the need for materials course books and share their experiences in having works published. One of the main points the authors make is for team writers to be aware of the necessity to evaluate, revise, and edit each other's work and to be prepared to indulge each other's idiosyncrasies as writers. Two essays in particular, one by Philip Prowse and the other by Jan Bell and Roger Gower, stress that when working on a project of this magnitude it is important to attempt to meet the needs of all concerned: each contributing writer, other teachers, students, publishers, and illustrators. They warn that there will be many meetings, some exceptionally productive, others quite dry, and they stress the need for all parties to be prepared to compromise. Two extensive chapters, one by Andrew Littlejohn and the other by Rod Ellis, suggest ways to evaluate materials which will help professionals enhance the quality of their materials development. Essays by Alan Maley, Julian Edge and Sue Wharton, Grethe Hooper Hansen, and Brian Tomlinson further discuss current trends in language learning and the value in creating theoretically sound activities.

At the beginning of the book, Tomlinson includes a glossary of terms, which is helpful to aspiring professionals in this field such as graduate students. Tomlinson's comments as editor neatly tie together the individual readings by numerous authors. He concludes the book by noting that we can be pleased with the progress made so far in materials development, but he also stresses that there is much work yet to be done. To continue progress in this field, Tomlinson urges that it is essential for professionals to recognize the needs among their peers who teach ESL and the needs among the students. By assessing these needs, he says, we can more effectively develop materials which will aid in our own development as professionals and also in the development of L2 learners.

While this book does not include a practical set of classroom activities to use or to modify for use, it does include a wealth of theoretical information for a writer's use in creating just such a book. In this capacity, *Materials Development in Language Teaching* is helpful for professionals who are entertaining the idea of furthering the advancement of ESL classroom materials and teaching strategies by developing their own materials and assessing them for publication.

REVIEWER

Elizabeth J. Kirchoff has an MA in English and in TESL and is an instructor at St. Cloud State University, where she teaches composition to both native and non-native speakers of English.

Beyond Training: Perspectives on Language Teacher Education, Jack C. Richards. Cambridge University Press, 1998. 190 pages.

Beyond Training is a collection of papers and talks that Richards has developed over several years, which investigates how the beliefs, theories, and practices of second language teachers can be integrated into teacher education. This text can be used as a guide for developing well-integrated, functional teacher training programs for second language teachers.

The book is divided into four major sections: theories of second language teaching, perspectives on teacher thinking, examining teacher education practices, and entering the field of language teaching. Each section presents valuable information and offers suggestions on how individual teachers can apply this information at different stages of their teacher development.

The first section focuses on theories of second language teaching and teachers' maxims. This section is divided into three main categories: science-research conceptions, theory-philosophy conceptions, and art-craft conceptions. I found it interesting that Richards does not choose one theory over another, but instead sees the value in integrating various theories over time throughout a teacher's ongoing development. The author also recognizes the importance of identifying different teaching maxims and how this can be useful in facilitating student teachers' future professional development.

The second section is concerned with perspectives on teacher thinking. The author provides examples of teacher case studies and investigates the processes used in solving problems presented in the teaching process. Richards understands the importance of analyzing the cognitive processes involved in second language teaching for both teaching well and aiding the novice teacher in developing teaching expertise. This section also focuses on how teachers use and develop lesson plans and the decision making involved in actual implementation of the lesson. Richards examines the differences between experienced and novice teachers in this area.

The last section in the book deals with examining teacher education practices. This section explores how teaching environment as well as the individual teacher needs to be reflected upon. Second language teachers need to have significant lessons. It is also important for second language teachers to reflect on their teaching through critical reflective journal writing. The author suggests that some training might be necessary to develop good critical journal writing.

Richard's book provides a comprehensive analysis of what is needed to develop a good teacher training program. This book should be a welcome addition to any program that focuses on the development of good second language teachers.

REVIEWER

Andria Christenson is currently an ESL teacher in Melrose, Minnesota. Her previous experience includes training teachers in Costa Rica for the Peace Corps.

Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition, Catherine Doughty and Jessica Williams, eds. Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series, Cambridge University Press, 1998. 301 pages.

This text is one of twenty-three volumes currently included in the Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series and contains two prefaces: one by the Series editors, Michael H. Long and Jack C. Richards, and another by Doughty and Williams, the book's editors.

The applied linguistics literature of the 1980's was characterized by the debate over whether or not L2 learners should be made to attend to "grammar" or form. Literature during the 1990's has retreated from this debate and has supported the more moderate view that some kind of focus on form (F on F) is useful, at least to some extent, and is more or less situational, depending on the form in question and the age and level of the L2 students involved. This volume examines a variety of F on F theories and issues and includes reports on several studies designed to show when and how focus on form is most effective in the classroom situation.

The research and discussions presented in the chapters of this volume are compiled from symposia/colloquia held at three different conferences in 1994 and 1995. Focus on form in second language instruction was the subject of all of these sessions, and, although these selections represent diverse and sometimes conflicting points of view, they are certainly indicative of the most recent theoretical trends in second language acquisition (SLA) research and teaching.

In the first chapter, entitled "Issues and Terminology," editors Doughty and Williams give a brief history of the controversial issues surrounding "grammar", or what has more recently come to be known as F on F in SLA research and teaching, and then go on to give operational definitions for linguistic terms as they are used in this particular volume. They also present an explanation of how the rest of the text is organized and why it is organized in this manner. The remaining chapters are divided into three sections with self-explanatory titles: Part I: Theoretical Foundations of Focus on Form (Chapters 2 through 4); Part II: Focus on Form in the Classroom (Chapters 5 through 8); Part III: Pedagogical Implications of Focus on Form (Chapters 9 and 10). The text concludes with an extensive 22 page reference section and is indexed according to both subject and author.

In Chapter 10, authored by the editors, the stated aim is to interpret the research on F on F in classroom SLA for the language teaching professional. The authors attempt to accomplish this aim by examining the issues and studies explored in Chapters 2 through 9, with a view to making six major decisions in implementing F on F in the classroom situation. These decisions, in order, are: (1) whether or not to focus on form; (2) reactive versus proactive focus on form; (3) the choice of linguistic form; (4) explicitness of focus on form; (5) sequential versus integrated focus on form; and (6) the role of focus on form in the curriculum. They also present a taxonomy of tasks designed to help teachers relate various learner and learning considerations to the selection of F on F tasks.

Considering the content of the selections they have chosen to include in this volume, it comes as no surprise to the reader to learn that the editors' stated belief is that "the ideal delivery of focus on form is yet to be determined," and that it is up to the L2 teacher to decide -- based on F on F pedagogical principles -- what degree of explicitness of attention to form is most appropriate for his or her individual classroom.

This is not a classroom text for L2 learners. Highly technical in content, this book is intended for SLA researchers and language teaching practitioners as well as for graduate students in the field of applied linguistics.

REVIEWER

Ann Przybilla has an MA in TESL. She teaches ESL in St. Cloud Public School District #742 and at St. Cloud State University.

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